TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1904.

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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Spring Meeting,

At Bredon, Strensham, and Pershore,

Tuesday, June 7th, 1904.

This meeting proved to be a most successful and instructive one. Bredon, Strensham, and Pershore were visited, and although it is not the first time the Society has been there—Bredon being included in the programme in 1885 and 1895, and the other two places on the latter date—the ground was new to many members. What made the meeting so attractive was the arrangement whereby the journey from Bredon to Pershore was made by river, an innovation that proved very acceptable. The weather was delightfully fine, and the large number of members present had a most enjoyable day under the best conditions. The party totalled between 160 and 170—a record by about fifty.

The first place visited was Bredon, and the party enjoyed the walk through the picturesque Worcestershire village, with its thatched cottages, to the parish church, where the members were received by the Rev. G. J. Saywell (curate), in the absence of the Rev. H. G. Cavendish-Brown (rector).

The monastery of St. Peter at Bredon was founded by Eanulf, grandfather of King Offa, probably about 716, and in 731 Tatwin, a priest of

the minster, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Bede calls him "a man distinguished for religion and prudence, and notably well instructed in sacred literature." He is also remarkable as being the first Mercian who sat in the throne of St. Augustine, and his elevation no doubt marks the growing influence of Mercia under Ethelbald. His successor, Cuthbert, was also a Mercian, translated from Hereford. In 772 King Offa granted to the minster the land of eight *manentes* at Evenlode after the death of the thegn Ridda, his wife Bucga, and their daughter Heaburg.[1] On September 22nd 780, he granted to Bredon land at Warsetfelda, Coftun, and Wreodanhal, with apparently an use to the Bishop of Worcester: "*In usum episcopi Weogernensis ecclesiæ maneat.*"[2] This would seem to mark an early connection between the cathedral and the lesser minster, unless, indeed, it marks the compromise of a dispute between the two churches concerning the property. On the same day, however, Offa granted thirty-five hides to Bredon absolutely—five at Teddington on the Carent, and ten each at Washbourne, Codeswell (Cutsdean), and Norton on the Tyrl.[3] In 781, as a part of the great dispute between King Offa and Bishop Heathored, which led to the surrender of the Minster of Bath by the bishop, Offa had laid claim to twelve cassates at Bredon, but there is nothing to show which they were or what was the nature of the king's claim.[4] On Christmas Day, 841, Berhtulf, King of the Mercians, granted to Abbot Eanmund and the family at Bredon freedom from the service called *fæstingmen*—probably the entertainment and forwarding on their journey of royal messengers or travellers—in return for a precious silver dish, 120 mancusses of pure gold, and the chanting of 1,200 psalters and 120 masses for the welfare of the king and his realm. Again, in 844 or 848 Berhtulf granted to the same abbot and his family freedom from the services called *cum feorme* and *cafor*, also from the service of providing food for the hawks or horses of the king or his huntsmen and servants; except that when messengers for the king came from over the sea, or from the West Saxons or Northumbrians, if they came before midday dinner must be provided for them, if they came after the ninth hour they must be entertained for the night. Other privileges were granted by Humberht, prince of the Tonsets.[5] In return the family at Bredon granted to the king 180 mancusses of pure gold and the land of fifteen manentes at Stanleghe and Bellanford. After this we hear no more of Bredon as an independent minster; probably it was disorganised during the roubles of the Danish invasions, and it became a possession of the cathedral at Worcester. It remained with the Mother Church till after the consecration of Edwin Sandys to the See on December 21st, 1559, when Queen Elizabeth retained Bredon, Bishop's Cleeve, Bishop's

[1] K. C. D., cxx.; C. S., 209, 210. [2] K. C. D., cxxxviii.; C. S., 234.
[3] K. C. D., cxl.; C. S., 236. [4] K. C. D., cxliii.; C. S., 241.
[5] K. C. D., cclxi.; C. S., 454.

Wyke, Knight Wyke, and Henbury, giving in return in the fourth year of her reign some impropriations and tenths of quite inadequate value.[1]

The only existing relic of the Saxon monastery is a portion of a beautiful interlaced cross, which was found in the churchyard and placed in the chancel.

The church consists of a lofty nave with north porch, Early English south aisle, and Decorated north aisle. A tower has been inserted between the nave and the chancel. It has a transitional Norman arch on the west and an Early English arch on the east. There are no traces of transepts; the tower was evidently an afterthought. The western end of the nave is especially interesting, as, with the exception of the west window, inserted in the fifteenth century, it retains all its original Norman work. The three doorways on the north, west, and south, with their chevron mouldings, are beautiful examples of that style.

The west front is flanked by square turrets with pyramidal caps, the angles of the upper stages being enriched with mouldings. The roof of the porch is groined with diagonal ribs springing from shafts in the angles. Over this is a parvise, to which there is apparently no access.

The corbel table of the nave is continued round the porch, proving it to be of the same date as the rest of the building, say about 1150. The windows are plain, being splayed deeply on the inside.

The first change took place apparently early in the thirteenth century, when the south wall of the nave was taken down as far as the north and south doorways, an Early English arcade of two arches was inserted in its place and a south chapel was constructed, having a triplet window at the east end, four couplets of trefoil-headed lancets on the south, and a couplet with quatrefoil head at the west end. This last window is now blocked by the fine Jacobean monument of Giles Reade, his wife, and eight children. On the south side there are a trefoil-headed piscina and three sculptured slabs in arched recesses—one representing two human arms rising from a shield and bearing a heart is especially worthy of notice. In the north-east angle is the door leading to the rood-loft staircase. The Perpendicular rood-loft itself was ruthlessly destroyed some seventy years ago. A drawing of one of the panels is given in the third volume of *Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies*, 1855, p. 334.

At the close of the thirteenth century a chapel was built on the north side of the nave and an arcade of two arches was constructed, as on the opposite side, with a central octagonal shaft and two responds. The capitals are very poor when compared with the Early English caps opposite. The windows are Geometrical.

1 Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, i. 578.

The Early English tower of two stages has a graceful spire, which forms a delightful feature in the view from the river or opposite shore. It stands between the nave and chancel, without transepts. There are some forty churches in Gloucestershire similarly constructed, for example Brockworth, Beckford, Leckhampton, and Ozleworth. It is possible that when the church was first built there was an apse where the tower now stands, or a short choir with a chancel beyond.

The chancel is Early Geometrical, and was, it would seem, built in the reign of Edward I. Under the eaves is a cornice, with a ball ornament and the heads and shoulders of human figures in the hollow moulding. In a buttress on the north side has been inserted what seems to be a very beautiful piscina with ball-flower ornaments of somewhat later date than the chancel itself, perhaps about 1318. The east window is of four lights with geometrical tracery. Nash says that in the six side windows of the chancel are the arms of Tateshall, Beauchamp, Vesey, Copeley, Botely, Eaton, &c.[1] These families, we may suppose, contributed to the building of the chancel. On the north side is a Decorated founder's tomb, or Easter sepulchre, and an aumbry; and on the south wall is a piscina with a low window behind it. To the west of this are three sedilia. Placed upright against the south wall is a most interesting and beautiful Edwardian monument, illustrated in our *Transactions*, vol. x., p. 159. It was found lying on its face in the chancel. Next to this is a fifteenth-century tomb with the three miniature recumbent figures of a man, his wife, and his child. On the floor is a large slab with an inscription in memory of John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, 1641—1650. He was deprived of his income and home by the Puritans, and, taking refuge with his son-in-law at Bredon, existed on an allowance of 4s. 6d. a week until his death on July 29th, 1650, at the age of 72!

The collection of heraldic encaustic tiles on the front of the chancel steps is perhaps one of the finest in England. It is described by the Rev. A. S. Porter, a great authority on tiles, in a report of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society, *Reports and Papers*, vol. xix., pp. 149–160. They have been carefully drawn by Mr. Roland Paul, who kindly sent me tracing of one about which I had some difficulty. Nash, in his *History of Worcestershire*, says that in his time were painted on the east wall of the chancel—on one side the arms of Mortimer, and on the other side *ten bezants* quartering *Cornwall* with a prince's crown.

The tiles show that they were given by one of the Mortimers, probably Roger, third Earl of March, 1331–1360, during the episcopacy of John de Trillick, Bishop of Hereford 1344–1360. Trillick had been rector of Bredon from 1300 to 1339, and in all probability the chancel was beautified under his superintendence. He did not forget Bredon when he was raised to the

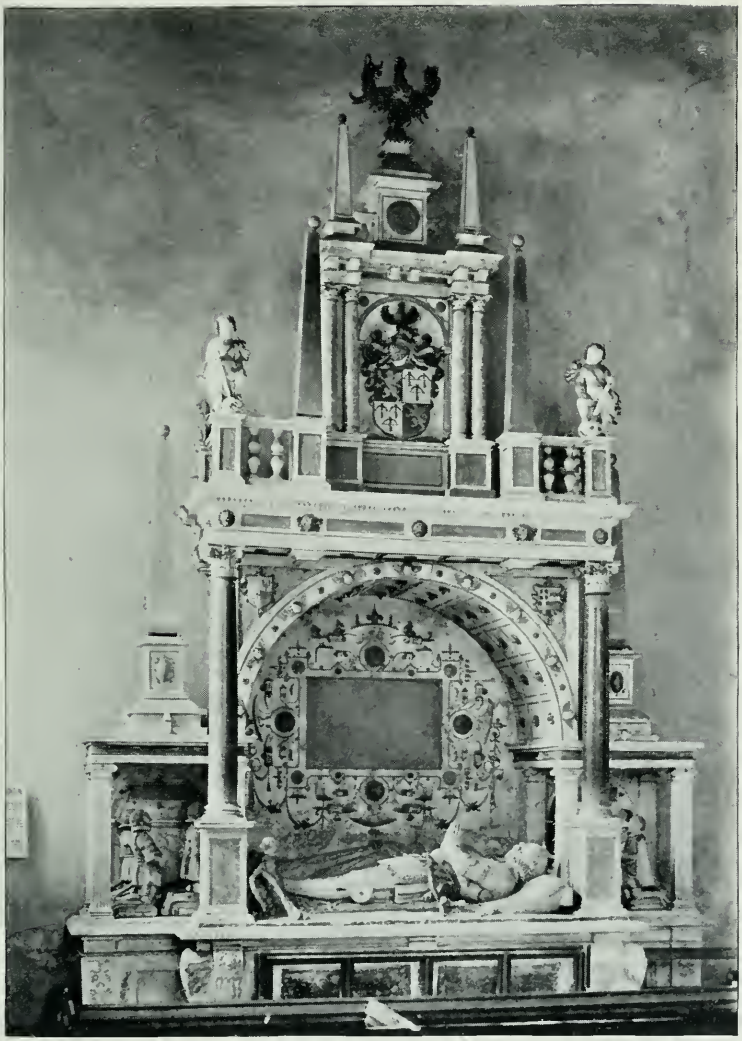
[1] *History of Worcestershire* 1781, vol. i., 131.

Neininger, Phot. *Face page 4.*

ST. GILES' CHURCH, BREDON, FROM THE SOUTH.

Neininger, Phot.

NORTH PORCH, BREDON.



Neininger, Phot.

READE MONUMENT, BREDON.

Neininger, Phot.

ST. GILES' CHURCH, BREDON

episcopal dignity, and it was through his influence that his all-powerful neighbours at Wigmore, Richard's Castle and Hanley Castle ordered these tiles to be made and presented them to Bredon Church.

It is possible to connect most of them with the Mortimer family, or with the more or less powerful families with whom the Mortimers intermarried in the reign of the third Edward. They deserve more careful attention than has ever been given to them, and should furnish matter for a substantive paper in our *Transactions*.

In the churchyard are a coped tomb and a recumbent cross profusely enriched with the ball-flower ornament. The church has been described in our *Transactions*, vol. x., pp. 159, 160, and vol. xix., pp. 19, 20; in Brandon's *Parish Churches*, vol. ii, p. 51; in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iv., p. 105; and in the Reports of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society, as above.

Nash mentions many other coats of arms which have unfortunately been lost since his time.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Neininger, of King Street, Gloucester, for the photographs of Bredon.

After a short service,

The Rev. Canon BAZELEY gave a description of the church, founded on the notes which he had written for the programme, and which are given above. After alluding to the early history of the monastery which had stood on the same site, he called attention to the features which, he said, deserved careful examination by those present: a beautiful interlaced cross, perhaps of Saxon workmanship; the twelfth-century tower without transepts; the Mortimer heraldic tiles on the rising of the chancel steps, on which he promised a joint paper by Mr. Were and himself; the fine Jacobæan monument of Giles Reade and the sculptured slabs in the south chapel, especially the carving, which represented two human arms protruding from a shield and holding a heart; the monuments in the chancel, especially the beautiful thirteenth-century tomb, of which a drawing was given in the tenth volume of this Society's *Transactions;* the fifteenth-century tomb, with miniature figures of a man, his wife and child; and the floor-slab over the tomb of John Prideaux, the unfortunate Bishop of Worcester, who was deprived of his bishopric and his means of livelihood by the Puritans and died almost a pauper at Bredon.

Mr. WERE gave some interesting particulars with regard to the tiles, which numbered about seventy, and included several varieties of the Mortimer arms and also those of Ferrers, Trillick, and Elmbrugg, the latter family coming from an adjoining manor.

Before quitting Bredon a visit was paid to the mediæval tythe barn, an unusually fine specimen, dating from the fifteenth century. It consists of a nave and two aisles, and is 130 feet in length, the nave being twenty

feet in width and the aisles eight feet six inches in width. The roof is of one span, and there is a noteworthy stone chimney.

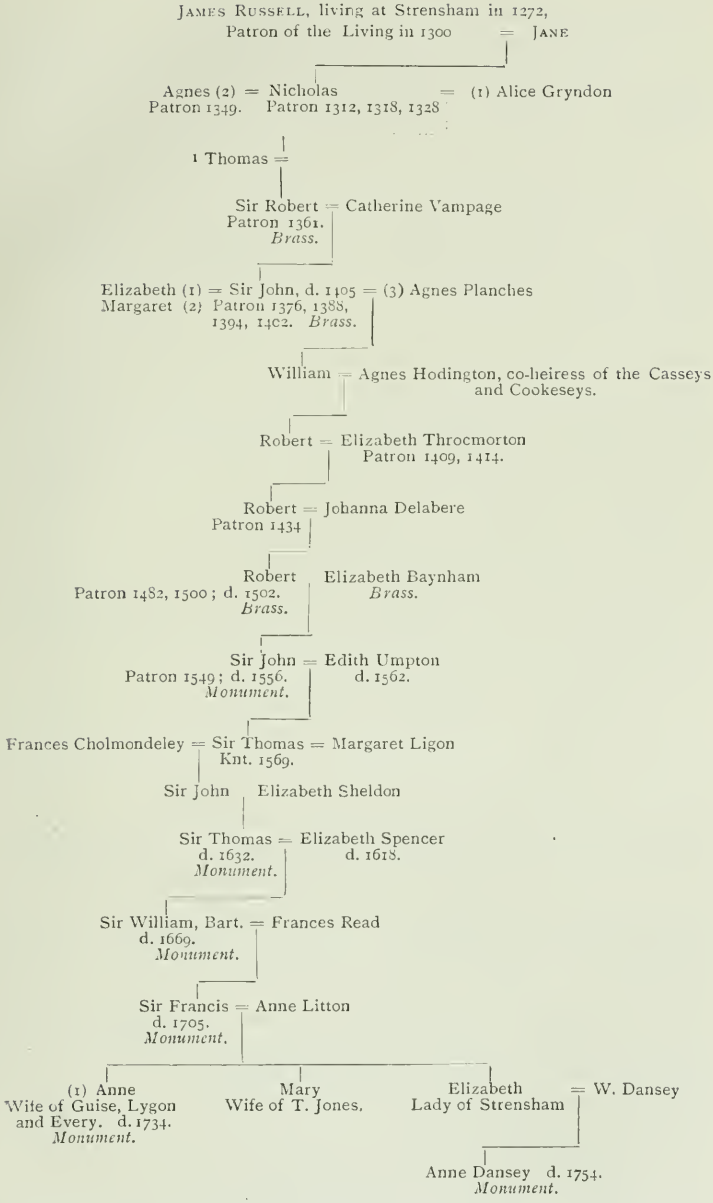
Much as the company enjoyed the visit to the interesting church at Bredon, there was a greater treat in store for them. Passing through the meadows, they found awaiting them at the riverside two fine steamers, the *River Queen* and the *Jubilee*, which were to take them the fourteen miles' journey to Pershore, calling at Strensham on the way. The sun shone brilliantly, but the heat was never oppressive, as a cooling wind was blowing The scenery that was unfolded as the steamers proceeded along the winding river delighted everybody. Luncheon was served on board to parties of twenty, and the holders of the early-issued tickets were able to partake of their meal by the time Strensham was reached.

Canon BAZELEY described the church which stands in a picturesque situation, overlooking the fertile Avon Valley, and commanding fine views of Bredon Hill and the Malvern range.

Strensham appears in the form *Strengesho* in King Edgar's Confirmation Charter of 972 to Pershore Abbey. It is said that the manor was given to the Abbey of Westminster by Edward the Confessor, and that early in the reign of Henry III. it was held of the abbot by Hugh de Fokington. Strensham nowhere appears by name in Domesday, and as it does not appear in the Augmentation Roll among the estates of Westminster, it was no doubt not a possession of the abbey at the time of the Dissolution. In 1292 Sir Roger de la Ware was patron of the church of Strensham. Before the end of the thirteenth century the Russells, said to be a family of Norman origin, took up their residence at Strensham, and James Russell presented a kinsman to the living in 1300.[1] This confirms a statement on the monument of Francis Russell, the last male possessor of that name, who died in 1705, that his race had held the manor for more than 400 years.

There are traces of an earlier church in the east wall of the chancel, the lower part of which contains numerous fragments of thirteenth-century moulding, very similar to those which are found in the church at Matson. It was probably built in the earlier years of the reign of Henry III. by the Abbot of Westminster. The present building has been left untouched by the nineteenth-century restorer, and is rich in brass and marble monuments, paintings on panels, encaustic tiles, and sixteenth-century woodwork. There are numerous heraldic coats, principally of the Russells and the families with whom they intermarried. There are also some hatchments of the Taylor family, who have possessed the manor for many years past. The following sketch pedigree of the Russells will, it is hoped, assist our members in their archæological researches:—

1 Bishop Giffard's Register.



1 The Heralds' Visitation says that Sir Robert was a son of Nicholas, but the inscription on the brass says "filius Thomæ."

There are ten monuments of the Russell family:—

1. The brass of a man in late fourteenth-century armour, c. 1375, the earliest in Worcestershire: **Robertus Russell, filius Thomæ Russell quondam dominus de Strengsham cujus animæ propicietur Deus.**

2. The brass of a knight in armour: **Hic jacet Johannes Russell, chivaler, dominus de Strensham, qui obiit apud Letherynham in comitatu South folck ultimo die mensis Januarij anno Domini mcccc v. Orate pro animabus dicti Johannis et Elizabethæ, Margaritæ et Agnetis uxorum suarum quarum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.**

3 and 4. In the vestry, as Mr. Davis found them in 1883, are the brasses of an esquire in the armour of the time of Henry VII. and of a lady; the heads of both are separated from the bodies. Inscription: **Here lyeth Robert Russell of Strensham Esquier sometime lord of this manor, and Elizabeth his wyffe, the which Robert deceased the xviij day of June 1502 on whose soul Jesus have mercy.**

One shield remains with the paternal arms of Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Thomas Baynham, of Clowerwall, Co. Glos.: *Gu. a chevron sa. between 3 bulls' heads cabossed arg. armed or.*

The Harleian MS. 1041 tells us that she married secondly Robert Throckmorton [Vis. Glou. 1643, p. 14]. Surely these brasses should be replaced in the chancel as soon as possible.

5. Mural brass. A knight, Sir John Russell, kneeling with heraldic tabard, and by his side his wife Edith, daughter of Sir Thomas Umpton.

Below the brass is a tomb with an inscription saying that Sir John died 1556 and Dame Elizabeth in 1562.

6. Monument on the south side of the chancel, with recumbent effigies of Sir Thomas and Elizabeth, Lady Russell, daughter of William Spencer, of Yarnton, Oxon. He died in 1632, and Dame Elizabeth in 1618.

7. An oval black marble slab on the opposite wall commemorates Sir William Russell, who fought for Charles II. at Worcester, and his wife Dame Frances, daughter of Thomas Read, of Barton, Berks. He died in 1669.

8. A pretentious monument with the figure of a lady weeping over her dying husband. A long epitaph commemorates Sir Francis Russell, who died in 1705, leaving three daughters, co-heiresses.

9. The adjoining monument commemorates Anne, the eldest daughter of the above, who died in 1734.

10. The mural effigy of his granddaughter Anne Dansey, who died in 1754. This is in the nave; all the rest are in the chancel.

The church appears to have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

Nash gives the patron saint as St. James, the rector adds St. Philip; Ecton's *Thesaurus*, 1742, gives the dedication as to St. John Baptist. The church stands on a commanding site overlooking the valley of the Avon, with delightful views of Bredon Hill and the Malvern range. Its lofty western tower may be seen for many miles around, forming a conspicuous feature in the landscape. The tower is of three stages, and has a staircase turret on the south side.

The rector states that in the will of Sir John Russell, preserved at Lambeth, and dated 1404, there is a clause leaving £20 to widen and lengthen the chancel—in other words, to rebuild it. The will (Arundel, p. 1, 222b) assigns £20 to be devoted to the enlarging of the chancel of Strensham Church, in which a tomb is to be erected with a stone (*lapis*) on it, with an inscription containing my name, and those of my wives, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Agnes.[1] The east window, which is modern, is said to be an exact reproduction of the original window which was probably of this date. Several windows are blocked by the Russell tombs.

The nave floor was relaid with Malvern tiles late in the fifteenth-century. A set of four bear the arms of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, 1444-1476: *Paly of six az. and gu., on a chevron three crosses croslet, ensigned with a mitre or.* Similar tiles may be seen at Worcester and Buildwas. There are others with the arms of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, the imputed arms of Edward the Confessor, the arms of the Berkeleys, &c., and single tiles with the head and mane of a lion, &c., belonging to a grand set of sixteen, of which a perfect example exists at Tewkesbury. The tiles deserve careful study and rearrangement.

The most interesting feature in the church is the original fifteenth century rood-screen, which has been preserved as the front of a western singing gallery. Thanks to Dr. Oscar Clark, we are able to give excellent photographs of it. We are also greatly indebted to him for illustrations of the monuments. The screen is well worthy of a substantive paper, for it does not appear that anyone has hitherto described it.

In the panels are twenty-three coloured figures. Our Lord in glory occupies the middle panel. On either side of Him are His apostles, apparently St. Jude with a book, St. Philip with his crozier, St. Thomas with the builder's rule, St. Andrew with the transverse cross, St. John with the cup and dragon, St. Peter with the keys, St. Paul with his sword, St. James the Great as a Pilgrim of Compostella, St. Bartholomew with the flaying knife, St. Matthias with a halberd, St. Matthew with a book, and St. James the Less with a club. On our Lord's extreme right are, moreover, two Archbishops, one of them, perhaps, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and

[1] C. T. Davis, *Monumental Brasses in the Neighbourhood of Evesham*, p. 63, on the authority of the Rev. T. P. Wadley, of Naunton Beauchamp.

the other St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester 961–992, promoted to York in 972, St. John the Baptist, a bishop with a wool-comb, perhaps St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester 1062–1096, or possibly St. Blaise, and St. Edmund, King of the East Saxons, with his arrow. On the extreme left are: a bishop, perhaps St. Dunstan, Bishop of Worcester 957-960, a king with ermine collar and cuffs, sceptre, and a weapon like a spit, perhaps St. Edward the Martyr, St. Lawrence with his gridiron, St. Stephen carrying two stones—these last two are vested in dalmatics as deacons—and St. Anthony with his pig and staff. There is a painting similar to the last in the dean's vestry, behind the north choir stalls of Gloucester Cathedral.

The inventory of church goods (Harl. MS., f. 112), besides giving a list of church plate and vestments, says: "Ther was abowte x yeres passed iij small belles hangyng in the stepull solde with the whole assent of the parecheners, and the money hereof imployd to make seattes and pues in the Church, and to repare the Churche."

We may safely, therefore, infer that the high seats with their linen pattern carving belong to the last years of the reign of Henry VIII.

The barrel roof of the nave was probably erected in the reign of William III., as on the middle beam is an angel bearing a shield on which are the Russell arms: *Arg. a chevron between three crosses croslet fitchée, impaling: ermine, on a chief indented az. 3 ducal crowns or*, the paternal arms of the last Lady Russell, a Litton of Knebworth. Besides these, the following arms are or were to be seen in the church: Lenthall, Plaunches, Hodinton, Cromeley, Cassey, Cookesey, Thurgrim, Umpton, Waldescheffe, Spenser, and many more.

The Russells resided near the west end of the church as early as 1283, as in that year Sir James Russell had a licence from Bishop Giffard to erect an oratory in his own house at Strensham.[1] In the time of Richard II. they built on the same site a castellated mansion. This was destroyed in the great Civil War. Two moats choked with brambles and thickets alone remain to mark the site.

Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, was born at Strensham, and the parish register contains the entry of his baptism on February 14th, 1612. His father was churchwarden in 1611. He owned a small property, still known in Nash's time as Butler's tenement. He died on September 25th, 1680, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London. There is a memorial tablet to him on the north wall of Strensham Church.

Embarking again on the steamers, Pershore was reached at about a quarter to three, and the party at once proceeded through the meadows to the famed Abbey, where they were welcomed by the vicar, the Rev. J. H. Bridgwater.

[1] Giffard's Register, f. 166.

The Abbey of Pershore was a sister foundation to the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester.

Two Northumbrian princes, brothers of our first Abbess, Kyneburg, and connected with the royal house of Mercia, had lands given them by King Ethelred for the foundation and endowment of religious houses in the Severn Vale. Osric founded Gloucester in 681, Oswald founded Pershore in 689.

Both monasteries in later Saxon times were occupied by Secular Canons, and both before the Norman Conquest were handed over to Benedictine monks, Pershore becoming Benedictine under King Edgar in 969, Foldbriht being the first abbot, while Gloucester did not become Benedictine till the time of Cnut, under Abbot Eadric, in 1022.

As time went on the abbots of both received their mitres and had seats in Parliament; but at the Dissolution their fates were different. Gloucester became the seat of a bishopric, and its monastic church was preserved for posterity in all its integrity; the conventual buildings of Pershore were ordered to be destroyed by the King's Commissioners, but the inhabitants bought the church for their own use. As, however, they lacked the funds for keeping it intact, the nave and the chapel of St. Eadburgh were taken down as being superfluous; the north transept became ruinous, and fell with a mighty crash in the seventeenth century.

The Lady Chapel in 1846 appeared capable of restoration, and funds were forthcoming for the purpose; but we owe it to one of the most celebrated bishops of our time that the work was not carried out. Samuel Wilberforce, who was then Dean of Westminster, and as such one of the patrons of the church, was invited to visit Pershore and give his opinion as to the restoration. In an unhappy moment he recommended that an apse should be constructed and the rest of the Lady Chapel removed.

The Church of the Holy Cross, Pershore, at the present time consists of a nave which was originally the choir and presbytery of the Abbey Church, a comparatively modern apse, a south transept, and a beautiful lantern tower, which once formed the central architectural feature of a cruciform church.

In 1862, when the Archæological Institute visited Pershore, Mr. E. A. Freeman spoke at some length on the church. The gist of his remarks is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix., pp. 377, 378. In vol. xx., pp. 158–171, there is a paper by Mr. Bloxam on the effigy of a cross-legged knight with a horn.

After the visit of this Society to Pershore, in 1885, Sir John Maclean collected some excellent notes on the church, which he printed in our *Transactions*, vol. x., pp. 230–237. Opposite page 237 are illustrations of the cross-legged effigy and the Newton carving.

The nave and transepts were Early Norman, and corresponded closely with the naves and transepts of Gloucester and Tewkesbury. The Norman choir was destroyed by fire in 1253, and was rebuilt in the later Early English style which prevailed towards the close of Henry III.'s reign. The piers have clustered shafts and round caps. There is no distinct triforium; Mr. Freeman says it was thrown into the clerestory.

The vaulting of the roof was constructed at the end of the thirteenth century, and was made to harmonise with the earlier work. The Chapel of St. Eadburgh, destroyed at the Dissolution, belonged to this date, and also the upper stages of the tower.

The church was restored under the superintendence of Mr. Gilbert Scott, afterwards Sir Gilbert Scott, in 1865.

Two interesting monuments remain—the effigies of a knight and an abbot. The knight wears mail armour with hooded hauberk and sleeveless surcoat. His heater-shaped shield is supported by a guige or strap which passes over the right shoulder. His sword is on the left side, and his right hand, which is uncovered, grasps a horn.

We are reminded at once of the tomb of John Wyrral, at Newland, in the Forest of Dean; but the knight is not a forester or chief ranger. He holds his land by tenure of cornage, *i.e.* of blowing a horn on the approach of his lord's foes. The date of the effigy is probably about the same as that of Robert, Duke of Normandy's effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, the latter part of Henry III.'s reign or the middle of the thirteenth century.

The ecclesiastical effigy is supposed to represent Abbot Edmund Hart or William Compton. Above this effigy is some excellent oak carving with an inscription to Abbot Newton.

The photograph of the interior is by Dr. Oscar Clark; that of the exterior has been lent by Mr. W. Dowty.

Mr. FRANCIS B. ANDREWS, A.R.I.B.A., gave an interesting account of Pershore Abbey, which, he said, was one of the earlier, if not the earliest, foundations in Worcestershire, and, in common with most other monastic institutions, had to undergo many difficult and trying experiences, which recurred again and again, particularly during the turbulent times of its earlier years. The frequency with which buildings were damaged by fire, the ravages of successive invaders, and the rapacity of those with whom might and right were synonymous terms had so far obscured the early history of the monastery and its affairs as to make a continuous account of its existence practically impossible. The two dates as to the original foundation, which had almost equal claims to rectitude, were 681 and 689. It was founded by Oswald, the nephew of Ethelred I., King of Mercia, who, following the example of his brother Osric, who had founded Gloucester in 681, instituted at Pershore a house for secular or missionary clergy, and as he was so largely assisted in his efforts by his royal uncle,

Dr. Oscar Clark, 1 hot.

RUSSELL MONUMENTS, STRENSHAM.

Dr. Oscar Clark, Phot.

ANCIENT ROOD SCREEN, NOW THE FRONT OF A WEST GALLERY, STRENSHAM

Dr. Oscar Clark, Phot.

PANELS OF ROOD SCREEN, STRENSHAM.

Dr. Oscar Clark, Phot.

ABBEY CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, PERSHORE.

doubt probably arose as to whether the king was not the actual founder himself. In 976 the monastery was seized by the Mercian Duke Delfere, and considerably damaged. His son, Oddo, earnestly deprecating the wickedness of his father, took a vow of celibacy, lest any son of his should ever be guilty of a like sin. Not content with this, he and others helped to re-build and repair the monastery, and on his death, in 1056, Oddo was buried in the Lady Chapel. The lead coffin containing his remains was dug up in 1259, and an inscription in Latin put on it by the monks, who revered his memory. The existing work of the south transept, the earliest now remaining, was attributed by some to Oddo. King Edgar in 972 granted a charter to the monastery, and at one time it had possessions as far north as Redditch; but these possessions were subsequently much reduced to enrich the monks of Westminster. The monastery often suffered from fires in the early days, two of the most disastrous being in 1223 and 1288. It was after the latter fire that the present vaulting of the choir and south transept was executed, and the lantern constructed on the arches of the crossing that remained standing. The remaining fragments of the church of Pershore Abbey exhibited examples of each period of mediæval architecture, from Early Norman down to the latest development of Gothic. If but the Norman nave still stood, Pershore would be able to claim examples of three periods, practically successive, of special remark and magnificence. The Norman work yet existing was in the transept crossing. It was of early date; possibly parts of the transept were even pre-Norman. Early English work of the first quarter of the thirteenth century was represented in the choir arcade and superstructure, and exhibited a specimen of considerable rarity and beauty, so much so that no example at all comparable to it existed in the country, nor was one to be easily produced elsewhere that would better exhibit the detail of the period. The chief instance of Decorated work (fourteenth century) was to be found in the lantern tower, an example difficult, if at all possible, to equal, and certainly to excel, in all England. Apart altogether from its intrinsic beauty and rarity, there was a most remarkable and noteworthy incident connected with the lantern tower: it was in the distinct analogy existing between it and that of the cathedral of Salisbury. Mr. Andrews drew attention to the monuments in the church, the most important and the oldest being that of a Knight Templar. The effigy showed a knight of thirteenth-century date, and was now placed in a large stone coffin of later date. The hauberk in which the figure is attired is short-sleeved and hooded, and the lappel is unlaced at the neck and thrown back, showing the method of fastening. It was suggested that the horn held in the right hand of the effigy showed that the knight held his land by cornage tenure, or horn geld. Other items of interest in the church were a fine chest of early fifteenth or late fourteenth-century date, and some fourteenth and

fifteenth-century tiles dug up in 1862 from the site of the north transept. The Norman font was of extreme interest. The original bowl was in the grounds of The Nash at Kempsey, near Worcester, and Mr. Andrews said he should like to see it back in the church.

The return journey was commenced at four o'clock, and the party for Bristol reached their destination about eight o'clock.

The success of the day was largely due to the excellent arrangements made by Mr. F. W. Godfrey, jun., the hon. local secretary, and the able addresses of the Rev. Canon Bazeley, whose "notes," printed in the official programme, again gave the members much valuable information with regard to the churches inspected.

Lent by Mr. W. Dowty.

PERSHORE ABBEY.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting,

At Hereford,

July 12th, 13th and 14th, 1904.

Since meetings have been held at or near all the places of archæological interest in the two counties which form the proper district of our Society, it was determined this year to visit places in the neighbouring shire of Hereford which are connected in one way or another historically with Gloucester. It was wise of the Council to negative the suggestion made for the Gloucester meeting held last year that a day should be taken out for visiting Hereford. No doubt that excursion to the city on the Wye would have been singularly attractive, but upon consideration it was thought the claims of Herefordshire deserved that an entire summer meeting should be devoted to a portion of the county rather than a rush made through the capital in one day.

Hereford at the time of the Roman invasion was occupied by a brave Iberian people called Silures, whose territory extended as far south as the banks of the Severn.

For many years after the occupation of the Cotteswolds and Severn Vale by the Saxons the land on either side of the Wye preserved its independence. The bishops who ruled over it were Welsh and not English, and the Huiccian bishops who ruled the Severn land on the east side of the river made no claim to jurisdiction over the Forest of Dean.

If, after the Mercian victories in 779, the Welsh were driven from the right bank of Severn to beyond the Wye, and Offa's famous dyke settled their limits for ever, if Shropshire and Herefordshire and the Forest of Dean became English thenceforth by the immigration and settlement of a people of Huiccian blood, the bond of union between North and South was still maintained. It was not until a bishop was given to Gloucester, in 1541, that the Forest deanery was taken from the diocese of Hereford; and this deanery was only annexed to the Archdeaconry of Gloucester by Order in Council, dated October 5th, 1836, Ecton in his *Thesaurus*, published

in 1742, states that the Forest Deanery still belonged to the Archdeacon of Hereford for the summer visitation, though it was visited in the winter half-year by the Bishop of Gloucester's Chancellor.

It would be interesting to trace the connection which existed between the two counties as years rolled on. But it is only possible to attempt, and that very briefly, to point out some bonds of union between the Abbey, now the Cathedral, of Gloucester and the diocese of Hereford. Some such attempt is needed to show why we selected the land of the Wye for our Annual Meeting, and Hereford, Kilpeck, Ewias Harold, Ludlow and Leominster as the special objects of our pilgrimage.

The consecration in 1100 of Abbot Serlo's new conventual church at Gloucester, the foundation stone of which had been laid eleven years previously by Robert of Losinga, himself a great builder at Hereford, seems to have created a deep feeling of enthusiasm for church work, not only amongst the great Norman landowners of the Severn Vale, but also amongst the nobles and chieftains who occupied the Welsh marches.

The Abbey of St. Peter soon became as rich and powerful as it had been impoverished and of no account under the rule of Serlo's predecessors.

Harold, lord of Ewias Harold in 1100, gave St. Michael's Church, the Chapel of St. Nicholas in his castle, and many other churches to the monks of Gloucester, so that there might be in Ewias for ever congregations of Christians serving God.[1]

The neighbouring lords of Ewias Lacy were yet more generous donors to Gloucester. Walter de Lacy had been Earl William's lieutenant, and he it was probably who built the castle of Hereford. After the disgrace of Earl Roger, the Conqueror bestowed a vast fief on Walter de Lacy; and in 1080 the latter gave to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, the lands of Le Dene. This was done in the king's presence and with his approval at Berkeley, and then Walter de Lacy and Ermeline, his wife, dedicated to God and St. Peter Walter their little son of seven. He grew up under the care of the monks, assumed the cowl, and at the age of 57 became abbot. In 1085 Walter de Lacy was building the church of St. Peter at Hereford, and he fell from the scaffolding when the church was well-nigh completed, and was killed. His body was brought to Gloucester and buried in the abbey. In 1100 his son, Hugh de Lacy, gave the church of St. Peter's, Hereford, with its prebends, to St. Peter's, Gloucester, and it was transformed into St. Guthlac's Priory.[2]

In 1134 the Priory of Kilpeck was given as a cell to St. Peter's, Gloucester, by Hugh, son of William fitz Norman.[3]

In 1155 the canons of Bromfield, near Ludlow, in Shropshire, "gave themselves and their church" to the monks of Gloucester. Thus it came

[1] *Hist. et Cart. St. Pet. Glouc.*, i. 76.
[2] *Idem*, i. 85, &c. [3] *Idem*, i. 91.

From Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' Guide to the Cathedral.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL FROM THE N.W.

to pass that of the six dependent priories of St. Peter's, four were in the diocese of Hereford.

Every thoughtful visitor to St. Peter's at Leominster who knows St. Peter's Minster at Gloucester will be struck by the likeness of the great west window and the ball-flower adornment of the southern range of windows in the Herefordshire church to the same features in the cathedral at Gloucester.

In the list of Gloucester abbots many Herefordshire names appear: De Lacy, Foliot, Carbonel, Gamage, Wygmore, &c.; and two abbots at least, Gilbert Foliot and Reginald Boulers, were promoted to the See of Hereford. St. Guthlac's stood at the head of the dependent priories, and several of its priors became abbots.

The map of Hereford which, thanks to the kind services of Dr. Cecil Moore, the able and courteous secretary of the Woolhope Field Club, we have been able to reproduce, gives a very clear idea of what Hereford has been in days gone by.

Leland, who visited Hereford towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII., relates the following information about the city at that time. The donjon of the Castle was high and very strong, having in the outer ward ten towers *forma semi-circulari*, and one great tower in the inner ward, Some think that Harold founded it in the time of the Confessor, but others that the De Lacys and De Bohuns were its builders. There was once a fair chapel of St. Cuthbert with prebends, but one of the Lacys translated them to St. Peter's in Hereford, erected a priory of monks there, and gave it to Gloucester. The city had six gates, named Wye, Frere, Inne, Wigmarch, Bishop's Street and St. Andrew's Gates. The walls were very high, and well maintained by the citizens. There were four parish churches, St. Peter's, St. Nicholas', All Hallowes', and St. John's. The Cathedral, founded by Milfrid, was rebuilt by Bishops Lorengo and Keinelme. The bridge over the Wye had great arches of stone. The college of Grey Friars was founded by Sir William Pembruge. The church of St. Martin was in Wyegate suburbs. There was a lazar house dedicated to St. Giles. The Black Friars had a house without Wigmarch or North Gate. The Templars, and after them the Knights of St. John, had a preceptory here. The Priory of St. Guthlac, which before was in St. Peter's Church, was translated by Hugh de Lacy to without the Bishop's Gate. The body of one Bernard Quarre, a prior of St. Peter's, slain at the altar, was removed to St. Guthlac's.

On arriving at Hereford the Society was received at the Town Hall by the Mayor and Corporation of Hereford. The spacious assembly-room in the recently-opened building was much admired by the visitors.

In welcoming the Society, the MAYOR (Ald. H. C. Beddoe) said he could assure them that the announcement of the Society coming to Hereford

caused a great deal of pleasure to many of the citizens, because for some time past several of them had been interested in archæology, and he thought he might say they would find a number of objects of interest in the old city, although of late years many buildings had been done away with. At the same time, there were portions of buildings which would interest the antiquary. As they knew, a large castle existed in Hereford, but that ceased to exist at the time of the Commonwealth. The stones appeared to have been used as a sort of quarry, for people went to them and took them away for building. They used to have a fine timber building used as a market house. It was, however, disfigured by the upper portion being taken away. The remainder was plastered up without any architectural beauty whatever. The pillars which supported it, and some of the main beams, were all that remained. Fifty years ago, after the passing of the Improvement Act, the remains were removed, and they had no alternative, as it interfered with the traffic. Some persons thought the structure might have been re-erected in another part of the city, but as the greater part of what was old had been taken away, the result must have been to have fresh work and a fresh building. Other old houses had been re-modelled, and they would have to go to the back of these to find out the character of their construction. He glanced at the Cathedral, which would be described specially at that meeting. Before sitting down, he said that he had received a letter from his brother, Dr. John Beddoe, who stated that he was one of the founders of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Society, was chairman of the Organising Committee, one of the vice-presidents, and a past president.

Mr. F. A. HYETT (President) acknowledged the hearty welcome afforded by the Mayor of Hereford. He also thanked the committee, who had made careful arrangements for the reception of the Society. As to the visit to Hereford, he might say their Society was nearly thirty years old, and had visited almost every village which had any object of antiquarian interest in the county of Gloucester, and the most important places were visited three or four times. Hereford was rich in ancient monuments with historical associations, though whether Hereford was more ancient than Gloucester he could not admit, except there was good evidence of the fact. There was one phase of civic life to which Gloucester must yield the palm to Hereford. In the great struggle for civic independence, which began in the reign of Stephen, if not earlier, and lasted down to the reign of Richard III., Hereford took a more pronounced part than Gloucester. There was more decided exertion made in the Eastern Counties, but in the Mid-West there was no more sturdy champion of municipal independence than Hereford. He adverted to the fine structure in which they were assembled, and especially to the splendid hall in which they were received.

Canon BAZELEY (the Hon. General Secretary) read the report as follows:—

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present the following report for the year ending July 12th, 1904:—

"There are at present 440 annual members, 91 life members, and 3 honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 534 members. The income of the Society for the year ending December 31st, 1903, including a balance of £215 18s. 6d. at the Society's bankers on January 1st, 1903, was £416 17s. 2d., and the expenditure for the same period was £208 13s. 7d., leaving a balance in hand on the 31st of December, 1903, of £208 3s. 7d. From this balance should be deducted the cost of the Society's *Transactions* for 1903, the first part of which is in the members' hands, and the second part is in progress. Besides this balance, the Society has a funded capital of £832 3s. 8d. Consols, and £100 on deposit at their bankers.

"The Council would point out that as the *Transactions* are only issued to those who have paid their subscription for the respective year, it gives a great deal of unnecessary trouble to the Treasurer and Secretary if the subscriptions are not paid before the *Transactions* are ready for issue. At the present time there are eight subscriptions in arrear for 1902 and thirty-one for 1903. If the members would fill up the form sent to them on election asking their bankers to pay their subscriptions on the 1st of January in each year a vast amount of correspondence would be avoided.

"The Society has held two Annual Meetings since the presentation of the last report: at Gloucester, under the Presidency of F. A. Hyett, Esq., on July 14th—16th, 1903; and at Bredon on June 7th, 1904.

"The proceedings at Gloucester are duly chronicled in Vol. xxvi., part i., and those at Bredon, Strensham, and Pershore will appear in Vol. xxvii.

"The Spring Meeting of this year broke the record for all previous meetings as regards the members present, no less than 17[illegible] having taken part in the excursion.

"In October, 1903, much to the regret of every mem[illegible] of the Council, Sir Brook Kay, who had endeared himself to the [illegible] Society by his courtesy and kindness, resigned the Presidency of Council. Mr. F. F. Fox, F.S.A., was elected President in his room.

"The Council are glad to report that the list of Gloucestershire Church Plate, with the exception of the Bristol Diocese, is at last completed; and it has been arranged that Mr. Osborne, of Gloucester, shall print it. The thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. J. T. Evans, Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold, who has so industriously completed the work commenced several years ago. As was then promised, the work, when printed, will be issued free to present subscribing members who also paid their subscriptions for

1894-5 and 1895-6, and only received one volume of *Transactions* for those two years. A prospectus of the work, inviting subscriptions, will be sent to the other members.

"The list of Gloucestershire Effigies is being printed from time to time in the Society's *Transactions*. There are yet districts from which no satisfactory report has been received.

"The Council, in consideration of Mrs. Royce's munificent donation of the late Rev. David Royce's archæological library to this Society, have purchased the remaining copies of Mr. Royce's important work, the *Winchcombe Landboc*, and so have relieved the executors of Mrs. Royce from any further trouble and pecuniary loss in this matter. It is hoped that all who possess the first volume will lose no time in applying to the Treasurer for the second, which completes the work; and that the members who have not already done so will subscribe for Vols. i. and ii. Prospectuses will be sent to members on application to the General Secretary.

"The Council have done their best, in conjunction with the Cotteswold Field Club and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, to save the remaining portion of the old city wall of Gloucester at the South Gate from destruction; but it is feared that their exertions will prove to be in vain. It would be well if the citizens of Gloucester would endeavour to prevent such memorials of the past being irrevocably lost to them.

"The Society's collection of Magic-Lantern Slides, illustrating the antiquities of Bristol and Gloucestershire, has been steadily increasing, thanks to donations and purchases. A list of subjects and donors with regulations for the loan of the slides will be issued to members, and the Council hopes that the collection may be of considerable use to the members during the forthcoming winter.

"There has been a very important movement in the two principal centres of the Society's work, Gloucester and Bristol, during the past winter. A series of evening meetings has been held at Bristol in the rooms of the Literary and Scientific Club, and at Gloucester at the Guildhall. These meetings have been well attended, have awakened considerable interest in local archæology, and have provided papers for the *Transactions*. The Council fully hopes that they will be continued at Bristol and Gloucester, and that similar meetings will be arranged for at Cheltenham, Stroud, Tewkesbury, Cirencester and elsewhere during the winter of 1904-5.

"The Council has learned with pleasure that a fund is being raised to commemorate the good work of the late Mr. Tom Collins of Tewkesbury, in preserving and restoring many interesting ancient buildings, which otherwise might have lost all their historic interest. The Secretary, on behalf of the Council, has had an opportunity of publicly expressing approval and of taking part in the movement.

From Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' Guide to the Cathedral.

NORTH TRANSEPT WITH CANTILUPE SHRINE.

From Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' Guide to the Cathedral.

NORMAN SOUTH TRANSEPT.

"The Council deeply regrets the loss through death of Mr. Latimer and Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley. A memoir of Mr. Latimer appears in Vol. xxvi., part i.; and Mr. F. F. Tuckett has prepared for part ii. an account of the invaluable services which Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley has rendered to this Society and to archæology generally. Her loss seems to be irreparable; but the Council appeal to the members, especially to the ladies who have joined the Society, to follow her example in making a study of ancient and mediæval costume, church needlework, and the treatment of sacred subjects in scripture and painting.

"The Council has held six meetings during the last year, three at Gloucester and three at Bristol; and again desire to express their obligations to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Bristol for the use of the old Council Chamber.

"The Council desire to nominate Mr. Christopher Bowly and the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell as Vice-Presidents of the Society for Cirencester and Tewkesbury, the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary for Bristol, and the Local Secretaries for re-election. The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: the Revs. J. M. Hall and Canon Ellacombe, Messrs. G. S. Blakeway, H. Medland, C. H. Dancey and R. Hall Warren and Dr. Alfred Harvey."

On the motion of Mr. W. CROOKE, seconded by Col. ROGERS, the report was accepted.

Dr. GRIFFITHS then proposed, the Rev. S. BARTLEET seconded, and it was agreed to, that the retiring members of the Council be re-elected.

Mr. G. B. WITTS proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hyett, the retiring President, for his services during 1903–4, and at the present meeting.

The resolution was cordially adopted.

Mr. HYETT briefly responded, and then introduced the President for 1904-5, the Very Rev. the Hon. J. W. Leigh, D.D., Dean of Hereford. He remarked that it seemed a little anomalous for a Gloucester man to introduce to Hereford the Dean of the Cathedral. He had pleasure in performing that duty, however, on account of the distinguished position he held in the city and for his personal qualifications, and the considerable reputation he had obtained as an archæologist. Further, he was told that the Dean was a Gloucestershire man.

The DEAN OF HEREFORD, who was received with applause, said he need hardly tell them how very highly he appreciated the great honour that had been conferred upon him of being President of that honourable Society. He scarcely could have expected such an honour to be conferred upon him, and he could only say that he hoped to show his appreciation of the honour by trying to follow in the steps of their late President, Mr. Hyett. It was quite true he was a Gloucestershire man, for he

lived the greater part of his young life near Stow-on-the-Wold. They had had the municipal side of the connection between Gloucester and Hereford brought before them, and it was quite needless for him to dwell upon that side of the question. Another connecting-link occurred to him, and that was their most excellent Mayor had for his worthy brother Dr. Beddoe, who belonged to that Society.

The Very Reverend PRESIDENT then proceeded to deliver his Address to the Society, which is printed in this part of the *Transactions*.

On the motion of Mr. HYETT, thanks were voted to the Dean for his address and welcome.

The DEAN OF HEREFORD, after acknowledging the vote of thanks, said in their collection they had the best library of chained books in existence. They had 200 MSS all chained and complete in the bookcases where they were originally placed.

After lunch, members found their way to the Cathedral Green, where they were met by their President, who most kindly and carefully conducted them first round the outside, and then through the interior, of the sacred building. Canon BAZELEY had prepared the following notes for the official programme:—

Hereford Cathedral, like the mitred Abbey of Winchcombe in our own county, had its origin in the murder of a king. Æthelbert, King of the East Anglians, had been promised Æthelthryth, daughter of Offa, in marriage; but when he came into the borderland of the Wye to claim her for his bride he was treacherously murdered by his intended father-in-law at Sutton Walls, in Herefordshire, or, as some say, at Littledean, the church at which place is dedicated to St. Ethelbert. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, "This year, 792, Offa, King of the Mercians, commanded the head of King Æthelbert to be struck off."

Another chronicle tells us that in 825 Milfrid, viceroy under Egbert, King of the Mercians, built a church of stone at Hereford, then known as Fernley, where Æthelbert had been buried, and dedicated it to his memory.

In less than 200 years Milfrid's church had become ruinous, and Athelstan, Bishop of Hereford, 1012-1056, rebuilt it from its foundations.

A few years later, in 1055, Ælfgar, Earl of Chester, and Gryffyd, King of South Wales, warring against Ralph, Earl of Hereford, took the city, destroyed the cathedral, and slew seven of the canons. Bishop Athelstan, blind and broken-hearted, died in the following year at Bosbury. No traces are to be found in the present Cathedral of Milfrid's or Athelstan's churches.

The first Norman bishop, Robert of Losinga, who was consecrated in 1079, began to build a third cathedral. William of Malmesbury has puzzled students by asserting that it was built "*of a rounded form*" (in tereti schemate) "in imitation of the basilica at Aix la Chapelle." Now

Charlemagne's church, which has long since perished, was polygonal or round, like the Church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, built in 550 by the Emperor Justinian, or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. If Bishop Robert's church was ever of this form it has utterly disappeared. It is possible, however, that William of Malmesbury only meant that it had semi-circular eastern apses. Robert's church was continued by his successors, Gerard, Reynelm, Geoffry and Richard, and completed by Robert de Betun, 1131-1148. Of this church we have remaining seven bays of the nave, the presbytery arcades up to the sills of the clerestory windows and the south transept. Robert de Losinga's effigy, carved 200 years after his death, holds a model of a church after the manner of a founder.

It was this bishop who in 1089 laid the first stone of our own Cathedral at Gloucester, whilst Gerard, on July 23rd, 1100, took part in the consecration of the part which Abbot Serlo had then completed. The Norman cathedral of Hereford, as Robert de Betun left it, was a cruciform, Romanesque church, with nave, nave aisles, central tower with choir below, transepts and presbytery with north and south aisles. The south transept alone retains for the most part its original character. The nave had eight bays with massive round pillars to which shafts were attached on the north and south sides. The presbytery had three arches on each side, supported by piers with pilasters on their inner face to support the vaulting. It was terminated by a semi-circular apse, as were also the presbytery aisles: there was no ambulatory as at Gloucester and Tewkesbury.

The great glory of Bishop Betun's cathedral was the west front, of which Sir Gilbert Scott gave an imaginary drawing in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv., p. 329. This building remained unchanged till the end of the twelfth century, when Norman architecture was passing rapidly into the style known as Early English. William de Vere, bishop, 1186-1199, has the credit for altering the east end, converting the three apses into an eastern aisle with a range of chapels, and thus creating an ambulatory or continuous walk round the presbytery. We found a similar arrangement at Abbey Dore. De Vere's work is a beautiful example of Transitional or semi-Norman, retaining much of the earlier Romanesque decoration, but possessing also the deeply undercut conventional foliage of the first pointed. It is of the same date as the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, Glastonbury. The two arches which connect the vestibule of the Lady Chapel with the eastern transepts are very beautiful examples of Transitional work, having shafts and capitals of an Early English character and pointed arches, while the soffits are decorated with Norman mouldings.

Hereford Cathedral is rich in thirteenth and early fourteenth-century architecture, but few changes were made in the later style, known as

Perpendicular. The central tower is thought to have been rebuilt by Giles de Braose, 1200-1215, but it had to be again rebuilt later on. The Lady Chapel, which is raised on a crypt, was added to the eastern aisle of De Vere about 1220-1230. There is no historical evidence as to its date, but the work belongs to the earlier period of Early English. It was probably in course of construction at the very time that the monks of Gloucester were building their first Lady Chapel with the help of Ralph de Wilington and his wife Olympias.

We read in the *History of St. Peter's Monastery, Gloucester*, that early in the thirteenth century there lived a monk who was a great architect, Helias of Hereford by name. He is said to have erected a tower (probably an Early English spire), to have constructed the monks' stalls, and to have made an aqueduct from Gloucester Abbey. The spire has long since been superseded by our beautiful fifteenth-century tower, but one of Helias' stalls remains in the presbytery; and the cover of a well-house carved in the form of a massive recumbent cross still lies near the spring on Mattesdune (Matson), from whence he led the water to St. Peter's.

It is more than probable that in the Lady Chapel of Hereford we see the chef-d'œuvre of this local genius. The *History* records his death on Nov. 9th, 1237. It is the only obituary notice of an architect the MS. contains.

A few years later it became necessary to restore the clerestory and replace the vaulting of the presbytery. The late Early English windows with their plate tracery were inserted about the middle of the thirteenth century, in the earlier years of the rule of Peter d'Acquablanca, bishop 1240-1268.

We now reach the period when Early English was passing into Decorated. The north transept appears to have been transformed about 1270. This work is generally attributed to Peter d'Acquablanca because of the position of his tomb. The beautiful canopy work of the latter is very similar to the triforium in the eastern wall of the transept, so much so that we must consider them to be the conception of the same master mind.

But the strange and unworthy career of Bishop d'Acquablanca makes it improbable that he could find time for such laudable efforts. It is better to attribute both the transept and the tomb to John d'Acquablanca, the Bishop's nephew, who was made Dean of Hereford by his uncle, and survived him many years. The Dean's effigy lies on the floor of the transept in front of the Bishop's tomb.

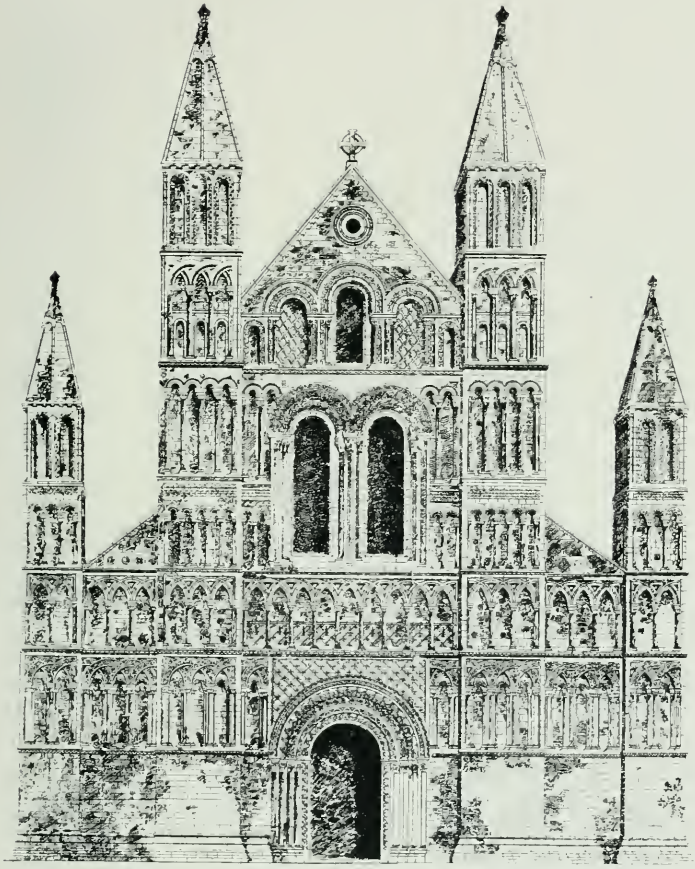
On the death of Peter d'Acquablanca in 1268, he was succeeded as bishop by John le Breton, who ruled the diocese for seven years.

Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop 1275-1282, was Lord Chancellor of England, and a man of fervent piety. Thirty-eight years after his death

Face page 24.

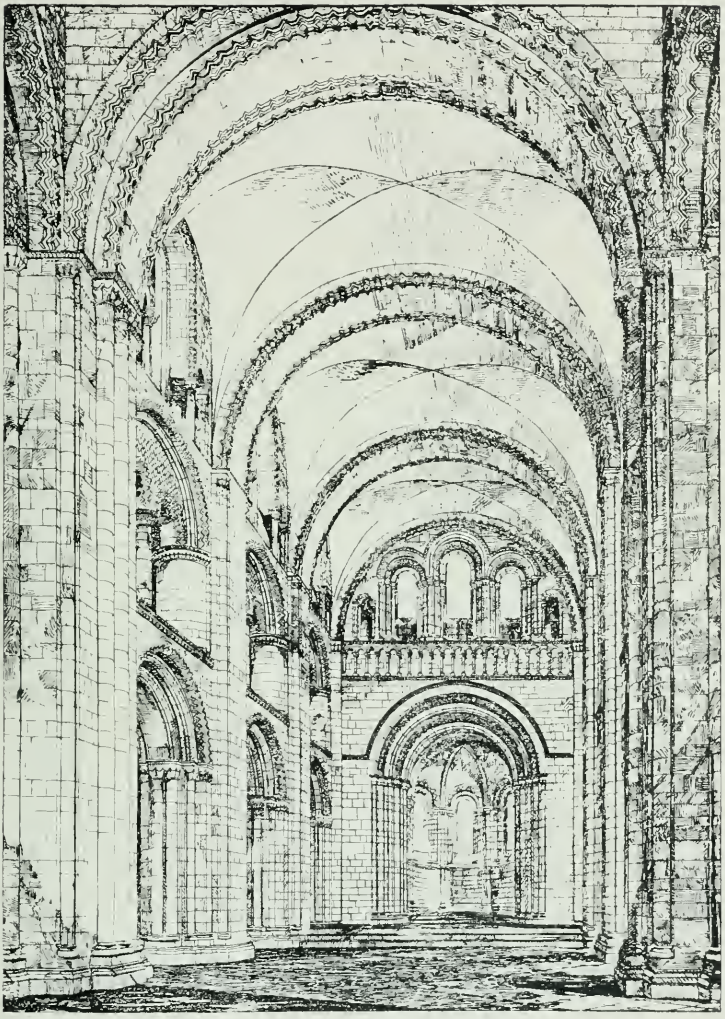
OLD MAP OF HEREFORD.

Ground Plan of Hereford Cathedral



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

Imaginary Reproduction of West Front by Sir Gilbert Scott.



From the *Archæological Journal.*

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

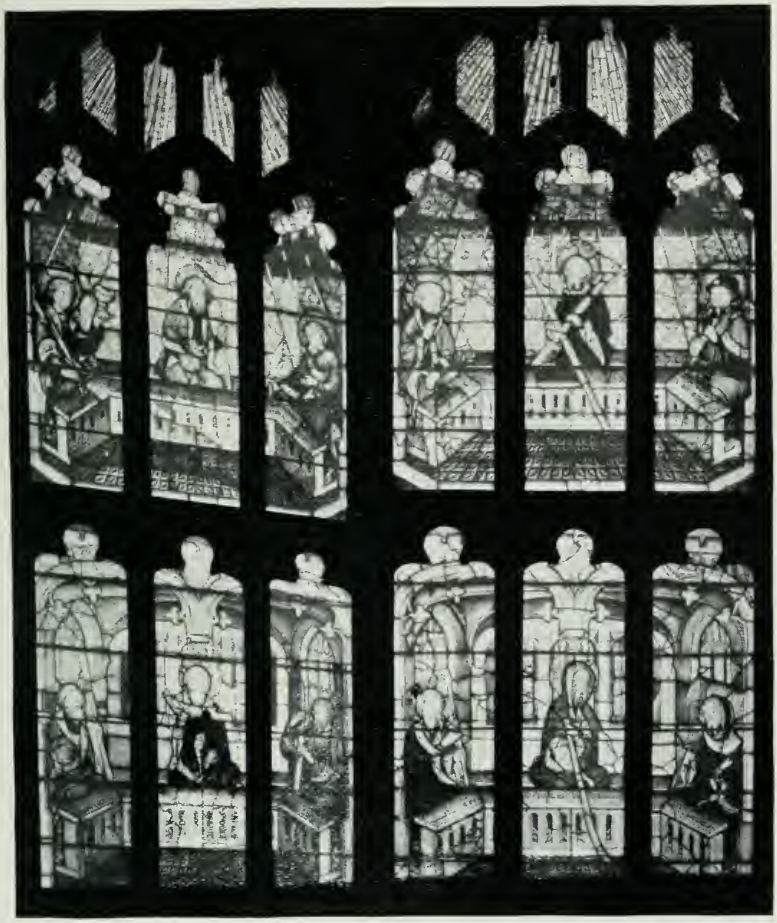
Imaginary Reproduction of Presbytery by Sir Gilbert Scott.

Guy Chilton, Phot.

KILPECK CHURCH FROM S.W.

SOUTH DOORWAY, KILPECK.

ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, LUDLOW.



R. W. Dugdale, Phot.

WINDOWS IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN.

in Italy, at Monte Fiascone, on August 25th, 1282, he was canonised by the Pope, being the last Englishman canonised before the Reformation; and his shrine, which was moved from the Chapel of St. John in the Eastern aisle of the north transept to the Lady Chapel and back again more than once, became one of the most popular resorts of mediæval pilgrims. His paternal arms were adopted as the arms of the see. Cantilupe's successor, Richard de Swinfield, whose household accounts have been printed by the Camden Society, was one of the greatest of Hereford's bishop builders. The Transitional inner north porch, the aisles of the nave, the aisles of the presbytery, and the Cantilupe shrine all belong to his reign.

All the windows in the north-east transept and on both sides of the presbytery and nave appear to have been inserted at this time. The work for some reason was arrested at the east end of the south aisle of the presbytery, and the south-east transept was not transformed until later on.

Swinfield died in 1316, and was succeeded by Adam de Orleton, 1317-1327. We learn from a bull of Pope John XXII., dated 1320, that parts of the church which had been recently constructed on unsound ancient foundations were in danger of falling; and the Dean and Chapter had so impoverished themselves over the canonisation of Cantilupe that they were unable, without extraneous aid, to prevent the threatened ruin. It would seem that the tower and north transept were giving way. The Decorated tower, surcharged with the ball-flower ornament, belongs to this date. In style it agrees with the beautiful south aisle of Gloucester Cathedral, which was built by Abbot Thokey about 1318, and with parts of the fine parish church of Badgeworth, in Gloucestershire.

The later Decorated work of the Cathedral consists of the stalls and throne the presbytery and the souh-eastern chapel.

The chapter house, of which very little remains, was built before 1375, for it contained a monument erected at that date. To the same period we may ascribe the series of episcopal monuments in the south aisle of the presbytery and elsewhere.

The later Perpendicular work consists of the vaulting of the south transept by Bishop Travenant, who died in 1404, Bishop Stanbury's chantry chapel adjoining the north aisle of the presbytery, 1474, Bishop Audley's chapel of the south side of the Lady Chapel, c. 1500, and Bishop Booth's beautiful addition to the north porch with a chamber over it, 1519.

In 1786 a terrible catastrophe occurred—the west tower fell, on the evening of Easter Monday, April 17th, destroying the Norman nave with its west end. James Wyatt, who had carried on his work of vandalism at Salisbury, had a free hand given him to continue it at Hereford He removed all the Norman work above the arcades of the nave, substituting a triforium, clerestory and vaulting of his own invention, shortened the

Cathedral by one bay, and built a western façade. The fallen tower was 80 ft. broad and 135 ft. high; its basement was Norman, with an upper story of the date of Edward III., and additions of the time of Henry VI. At this time also the leaded spire of the central tower, 245 ft. high, was removed.

Much real repair was executed in the nineteenth century under the direction of Cottingham[1] and Sir Gilbert Scott; and this year, 1904, Wyatt's west front has been greatly improved, thanks to the energy and good taste of our President, the Dean of Hereford.

Such is briefly the architectural history of the Cathedral.

We entered the sacred building through Bishop Booth's porch, 1520, and the fine Early Decorated doorways of Bishop Swinfield, 1300. The fine Norman piers of the nave, surmounted by Wyatt's eighteenth-century Gothic, at once arrest attention. Opposite the entrance is the effigy of Sir Richard Pembridge, 1375, who fought at Poictiers. He wears the Garter on his left leg; the right leg is a restoration. On the right is a Norman font with figures of the Apostles, sadly mutilated, within arched recesses, and four demi-griffins at the base. In the north aisle near the entrance is the monument of Bishop Booth, 1535. It was usual to bury great ecclesiastics near the work which had been accomplished through their efforts.

About forty bishops are buried at Hereford, more than in any other English cathedral.

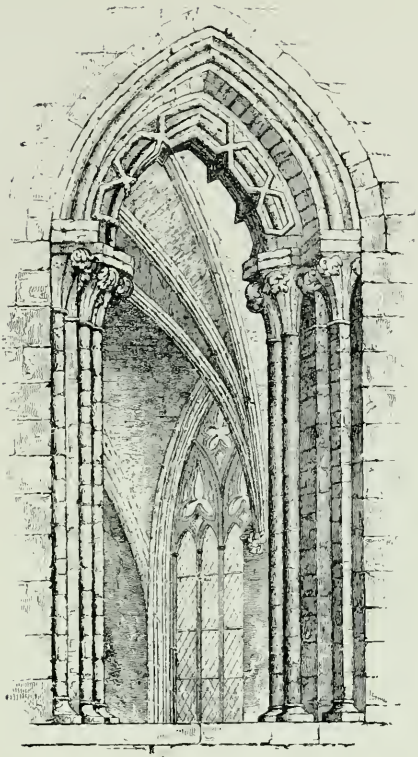
Most noteworthy of all the monumental remains are the shrine of St. Thomas Cantilupe, c. 1300, and the fine canopied tomb of Bishop d'Aquablanca in the late thirteenth-century north transept. The warriors carved on the lower part of Cantilupe's shrine have led some writers to ascribe it to Æthelred, the martyred king of East Anglia. The warriors, however, are Knight Templars, for Cantilupe was their Provincial Grand Master in England. The heraldic bearings on the shields of the knights have completely disappeared. The matrix of a brass remains on the slab, and on the right of the Bishop's mitre may be seen *the leopard's head inverted jessant de lys* of the Cantilupes.

In the north transept are the effigies of Bishop Westfayling, 1602, resting on its side, and Bishop Charlton, Treasurer of England, 1329, and a bust of Bishop Field, 1636.

The beautiful chantry chapel known as Bishop Stanbury's, in the north aisle of the presbytery, does not contain his tomb, but the monument of Bishop Richard de Capella, 1120-1127.

In this aisle in the north wall are the tomb of Bishop Hugh de Mapenore, consecrated at Gloucester December 4th, 1216, and the first

[1] See *A Statement of the Condition and Circumstances of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, by Dean Merewether, 1842*, with very interesting illustrations.



From Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' Guide to the Cathedral.

TRANSITIONAL ARCH IN VESTIBULE OF LADY CHAPEL.

From Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' Guide to the Cathedral.

LADY CHAPEL.

of a series of attributive effigies sculptured early in the fourteenth century, Geoffrey de Cliva, who died February 2nd, 1119. On the other side in two bays of the presbytery are Bishop Bennet, who died in 1617, and Bishop Stanbury, 1474. Beyond Stanbury's Chapel is an effigy assigned to Bishop Reynelm who died in 1115.

In the north-east transept is the tomb of Bishop Swinfield, 1316, marking the place where his great work of restoration began, but his effigy is lost. There is another assigned to Bishop Godwin, 1633.

The vestibule of the Lady Chapel contains in the south wall an interesting tomb with an effigy of Dean Berew, 1446-1462. In the hollow of the arch moulding are sixteen boars with rue leaves in their mouths, a "rebus" of Berew.

The Lady Chapel, built at a time when the Early English style was at its highest state of perfection, was twice restored in the nineteenth century: first by Cottingham, who saved the east wall from falling into ruins, and later on by Sir Gilbert Scott.

On the north side are the tombs of a knight, called Humphry de Bohun, but now thought to be Peter, Baron de Grandisson, 1358, and Joan de Bohun, Lady of Kilpec, 1327. Traces may be seen of shields bearing the arms of De Bohun and Plonknett.

On the south side is the chantry chapel of Bishop Audley. He was translated to Salisbury in 1502, and was buried there. The badges of Edward IV. may be seen in the windows of the upper stages, suggesting an earlier date, or removal from some other part of the Cathedral

In the south-east transept are the monuments of Bishop Lewis Cherleton, 1369, Bishop Lindsell, 1634, Bishop Coke, 1646, and Bishop Gilbert Ironside, 1701. It is not generally known that Dr. Ironside's widow spent her last days at Matson, near Gloucester, and was buried in 1735.

In the south wall of the south aisle of the presbytery are the attributive effigies of four early bishops, Robert de Melun, 1167, Robert de Betun, 1148, Hugh Foliot, 1234, and William de Vere, 1199. On the north side are the tombs of Bishop de Losinga, 1095, and Bishop Mayo, 1516.

In the presbytery are the effigies of Bishop Giles de Braose, 1216, and King Æthelbert, also the brass of Bishop Trilleck, 1360, sometime Rector of Bredon, in Worcestershire. The reredos and the sculpture on the spandrel of the central pier are comparatively modern.

In the south transept is the effigy of the fourteenth-century restorer, Bishop Travenant, without head or hands. There is also a fine altar tomb with effigies of Sir Alexander Denton of Hillesden, Bucks, his wife and infant child.

Amongst the many precious possessions of the Cathedral is the map of the world, discovered under the floor of Bishop Audley's Chapel, and now

preserved in the south aisle of the presbytery. It appears to have been designed about 1315 by Richard of Haldingham.

In the Library are many MSS. and early printed books, and a reliquary of oak and Limoges enamel with the representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket and his entombment.

An excellent guide to the Cathedral, by Mr. A. H. Fisher, has been published by Messrs. Bell & Sons. The Society is indebted to Messrs. Bell for their kind loan of illustrations for use in the programme. Much valuable information may be obtained from the papers by Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Bloxam in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 323 and 406, and the papers by Mr. Gordon M. Hills and Mr. Haines in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xxvii., pp. 46 and 85. Our best thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute, who have kindly allowed us to reproduce three plates from Sir Gilbert Scott's paper.

After Evensong, the Lord Bishop of Hereford and Mrs. Percival most kindly received the members in the Palace Gardens and entertained them at afternoon tea. It was a very great pleasure to the members who remembered the Bishop during the sixteen years of his Head Mastership of Clifton College to have the opportunity of meeting him once again in his beautiful home at Hereford.

In the afternoon, and again in the evening, members visited the Cathedral Library, and were very much interested in the chained books, the charters and seals, and the reliquary representing the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; they were also very much pleased with the reverent care with which these venerable relics of the past are preserved. In the evening the Rev. S. E. Bartleet read in the Cloister Garth to the members sitting at his feet—till it was too dark to read any more—some very interesting notes on St. Guthlac's Priory. After tea at the Palace also Mr. H. Cecil Moore, secretary of the Woolhope Field Club, had most kindly acted as guide to the churches of St. Peter's and All Saints' and other places of interest in the city.

On Wednesday, punctually at a quarter past nine, the members started in beautiful weather for a most enjoyable day's excursion, and a pleasant drive brought them to the church of St. David, Kilpeck, which has been described by Mr. G. R. Lewis in a richly illustrated book, published in 1842, six years before the restoration by Cottingham. This church probably dates from the middle of the twelfth century; but although it is distinctly Romanesque in style, its ornamental carving is full of Celtic feeling, as we might expect from the proximity of the parish to the marches of Wales. It is indeed in the English Diocese of Hereford, but in the Deanery of Irchingfield, or Archenfield, the district between Wye and Monnow; and this region has distinct Welsh affinities. The chronicles record that

about 918 a band of sea-robbers plundering along the Severn shores took Cameleac, Bishop of Ircingfeld, prisoner, and that King Edward ransomed him for £40. Cameleac was Bishop of Llandaff. In Domesday (f. 179), Arcenfelde appears as a definite district, and its customs are stated at length immediately after those of the city of Hereford. Among the customs was this, that in an expedition against an enemy the men of Arcenfelde formed the vanguard on the outward march and the rear-guard on the return. And it is quite possible that Bishop Cameleac was engaged in military duty of this kind when he was captured. The majority of the place-names of the Deanery are still Welsh rather than English.

The church consisted of a nave with south porch and western bell-turret, a chancel and a semi-circular apse as at Moccas. The whole building is replete with grotesque carvings, especially the south doorway, the chancel arch, and the corbel table. It was most carefully rebuilt in 1848, each stone being numbered before removal, and replaced in its old position.

On the chancel arch are figures nearly life size of ecclesiastics bearing such emblems as a book, bell, chalice, paten, key, cross, asperge or sprinkler, &c., &c., and apparently the hands and feet are marked with the *stigmata* or sacred nail wounds. These figures may be compared with those on the west front of Dorchester Cathedral and at Salisbury Abbey.

In the south wall of the chancel are an Early English window and priests' doorway, both inserted in the thirteenth century. The vaulted roof of the apse and the arch of the deeply-splayed east window are ornamented with Norman zigzag moulding. In the chancel is a holy water stoup with four pairs of arms clasped round it, and four serpents with their heads pointed away from it at the foot, representing evil spirits cast out.

The Norman font, composed of local conglomerate, consists of a shallow bowl, a central pedestal, four detached shafts with capitals and a circular base. There are several fonts of this character in Herefordshire.

The arch of the fine south doorway, of which, thanks to Mr. Guy Chilton, we are able to give an illustration, has medallions, grotesque masks, and zigzag moulding. The tympanum contains a representation of the Tree of Life. On each side of the doorway is a figure of the old serpent, and between it and the entrance on the west side are two figures of Christian warriors, one holding an axe and the other a spear in the right hand, while with the left hand each grasps the Tree of Life. The outer circle above the arch contains figures of birds on the west side and fishes on the east, representing the powers of the water and air.

The corbel table, which runs round the building under the eaves, contains seventy-four designs of such subjects as a lamb, the signs of the Zodiac, heads of men and animals, &c.

Outside the west wall three blind gurgoyles carved to represent

dragons, project three feet from the wall plate. They are thought to have been inserted for the support of an external gallery or the roof of a western porch or narthex

On the south side of the church stood Kilpeck Priory, which was founded by Hugh Fitz Norman in 1134, and given, as a cell, to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, together with the advowson of the parish church, and the little chapel of St. Mary in his castle. It was dissolved in 1422-1448.

In 1284 William de Shrivenham, Prior of Kilpeck, was summoned to Gloucester to take part in the election of an abbot, and on that occasion John de Gamage, Prior of St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, which also belonged to St. Peter's Abbey, was elected.

After thoroughly examining the church the party proceeded to the site of Kilpeck Castle.

We learn from Domesday that a thane called Cadiand held Kilpeck in the time of the Confessor. William Fitz Norman held it 1087. His son Hugh is said to have built the church, priory, and castle, and to have richly endowed the priory with lands. He was followed by his son, Henry de Kilpeck, about 1154. John de Kilpeck purchased a barony in 1193, and left a son, Hugh, who died about 1240, leaving a son, John, the last baron of Kilpeck. He had two daughters, coheiresses: one of them, Isabella, married William Waleran, and had Kilpeck as her share of the patrimony. Her heirs died out in the second generation, and Kilpeck came to Joan, wife of Edward de Bohun. Her tomb is in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral. She died in 1327, and the manor of Kilpeck passed to the Butlers, Earls of Ormund. That family sold it in 1545 to the Pyes. William Pye garrisoned Kilpeck Castle for Charles I. It was taken by the Parliamentary troops and destroyed. One of the Pyes held the title of Baron of Kilpeck, and followed James II. into exile.

The chapel of St. Mary in the castle was served by the Benedictine Monks of the Priory.

The castle stands on the west of the church, on rather higher ground. The mound was crowned by a shell keep, two fragments of which remain, and surrounded by a deep ditch. Outside this enclosure is a court or ward of a horse-shoe shape, also protected by a ditch. Beyond this there is a second and much larger area defended by a scarp; this was probably used as safe pasturage for cattle in troublous times. These earthworks seem to be all of one date, but to the north is another large enclosure which is probably of British origin.

The castle is described in Mr. G. T. Clark's *Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol ii., p. 162.

When the Gloucester Cathedral Society visited Kilpeck in 1884 a copper-plate portrait of one of the Monington family, engraved by Faithorne in the reign of Charles I., which had been found in the precincts

Kindly lent by Messrs. Jakeman & Carver.

CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL, EWIAS HAROLD.

of the castle, was bought by Mr. H. W. Bruton, of Gloucester, and by his kind permission it was used to illustrate the *Cathedral Records*. A description of the plate by the Honorary Secretary appears with the portrait in vol. ii., p. 168, of that work.

A short drive brought the company to the foot of the mound on which the castle of Ewias Harold formerly stood.

When William the Conqueror returned to Normandy, six months after his victory at Hastings, he constituted William fitz Osbern, whom he had created Earl of Hereford, one of the guardians of his newly acquired kingdom. He it was who built the castle of Ewias Harold on the site of a Saxon stronghold. The Norman castle has vanished; not a stone of it remains in its place above ground, but the English *burh* still exists, and the ditch which the Norman builders dug to strengthen the position.

At the time of the Great Survey, 1086, Alured, of Marlborough, held the castle of the king; in 1100 it had passed into the hands of Harold, son of Ralph the Earl of Hereford, who had fled before Aelfgar and Gryffyd, when they harried this borderland and attacked Hereford in 1055. Harold was of royal descent, for he was a great grandson of King Æthelred and a great nephew of the Confessor. It was he who gave his name to the castle.

Harold and his descendants were liberal donors to the monks of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and it was on their behalf that Harold founded and his son Robert, who succeeded him, built a priory on land adjoining the castle.

Robert fitz Harold fought bravely against the Welsh in the time of Henry I., and he is mentioned in the *Gesta Stephani*.

He founded, as we shall see, the Cistercian Abbey of Dore, and his recumbent effigy still remains there to mark the place of his burial. His brother, John fitz Harold, was the progenitor of the family who built and held Sudeley Castle, and of the Tracys who lived at Toddington until our own times.[1]

Robert II., Lord of Ewias, had a dispute with the Abbot of Gloucester concerning Ewias Priory; we know little of him besides. He had no son, and his daughter and sole heiress married Robert of Tregoz, who thenceforth became Lord of Ewias. Their son and heir was slain at Evesham. After a while the Tregoz family also died out in the male line, and the heiress, Clarice de Tregoz, married Roger de la Warr. The De la Warrs held Ewias for many generations.

The castle, which has been ably described by the late Mr. G. T. Clark, in his *Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 39, stood on the tump which we visited. A Norman keep superseded the English *burh* with its stockade, and a curtain or wall connected it with a lower court in which were the

1 See Mrs. Dent's *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, p. 73.

Chapel of St. Nicholas and other buildings. The main entrance flanked by two towers was on the south side. The castle was described by the Vicar, who has written an excellent history of the parish.[1]

The Priory of Ewias ranks first in date amongst the six dependent cells of the great Benedictine Abbey of Gloucester, and its foundation and endowment appear to have been the outcome of the enthusiasm awakened by the dedication of Abbot Serlo's new church in 1100.

Harold gave to the monks of St. Peter's the tithes of his demesne, the parish church of St. Michael's, Ewias, and also the churches of Eton Foy, Kentchurch, and Burnham. In return for these gifts the abbot undertook to provide a chaplain for the chapel of St. Nicholas in the castle, and to find a priest to serve the parish church and sing masses for the repose of the souls of the donor and his family. Early in the twelfth century a conventual church was built for the use of the monks at Ewias, and dedicated to St. James and St. Bartholomew.

The Register of Abbot Frocester, B, contains eighty charters relating to Ewias Harold, the richest collection of the kind in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester. Copies of these are preserved in the British Museum, and Mr. Bannister has given a careful epitome of them in his *History of Ewias Harold*, pp. 48-60. They cover the whole period of the history of the priory, from its foundation in 1100 to its dissolution, or absorption into the abbey property and withdrawal of the monks in 1358.

After lunch, which was served under the shade of a beech tree in the grounds of the vicarage at Ewias Harold, the parish church of St. Michael was visited. A building stood on its site in 1100, but what we see at present belongs to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[2] It consists of a thirteenth-century western tower, massive and low, with a staircase turret; a fourteenth-century nave, much restored, with a modern porch; and a chancel. In the north wall of the chancel in an arched recess lies the effigy of a lady holding in her hands a casket or cup in the shape of a human heart. This figure is supposed to represent Clarissa Tregoz, who married Roger de la Warr. When at the restoration of the church in 1865 the effigy was moved, a cavity was found in a stone about five inches in diameter, containing the scanty remains of a metal vessel, which had probably once held a heart. Whether the lady's body was buried elsewhere and her heart only was sent to the home of her childhood for burial, or whether the heart was that of her husband, Roger de la Warr, we cannot tell.

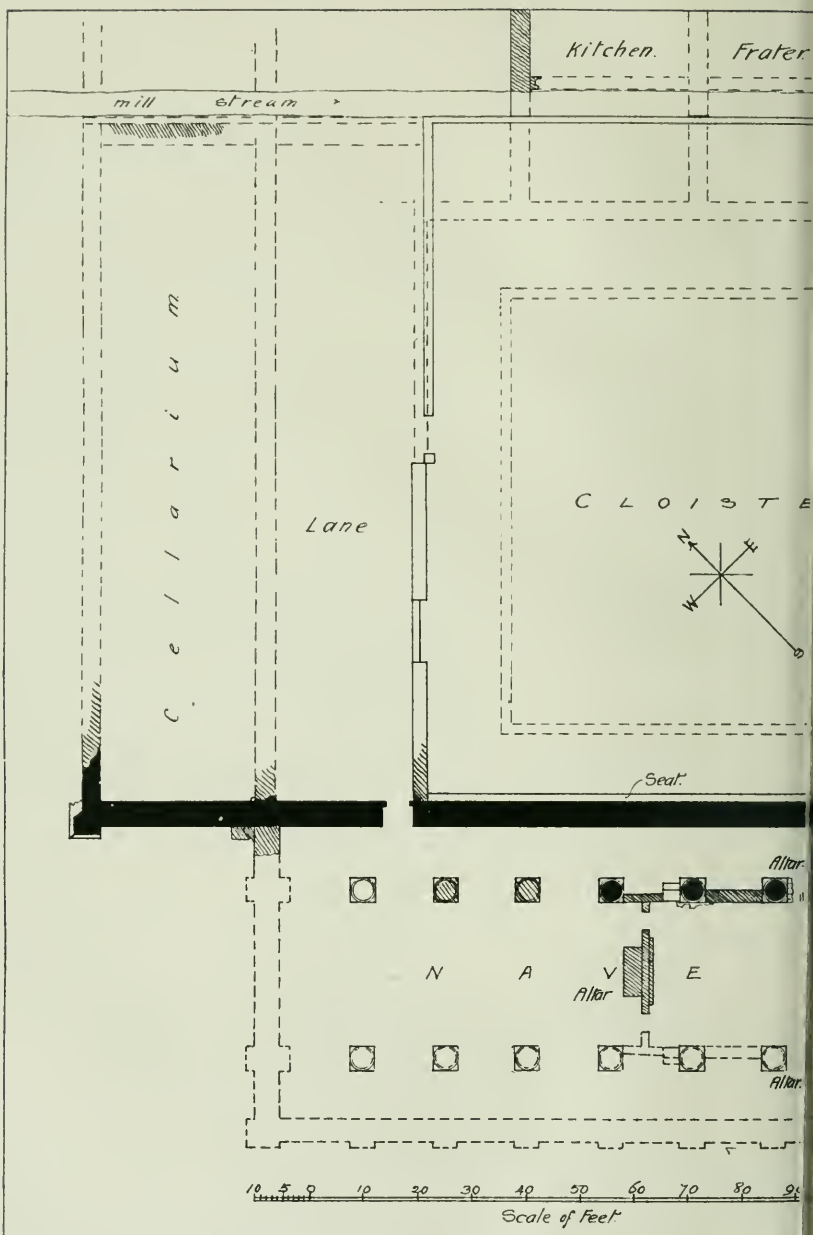
In the churchyard was once a chapel dedicated to the Holy Rood, but no traces of it remain.

1 The Rev. A. T. Bannister's *History of Ewias Harold*. Jakeman and Carver, Hereford, 1902.

2 We are indebted to the Rev. A. T. Bannister and to Messrs. Jakeman & Carver, Hereford, for the loan of the blocks of Ewias Harold and Abbey Dore Churches.

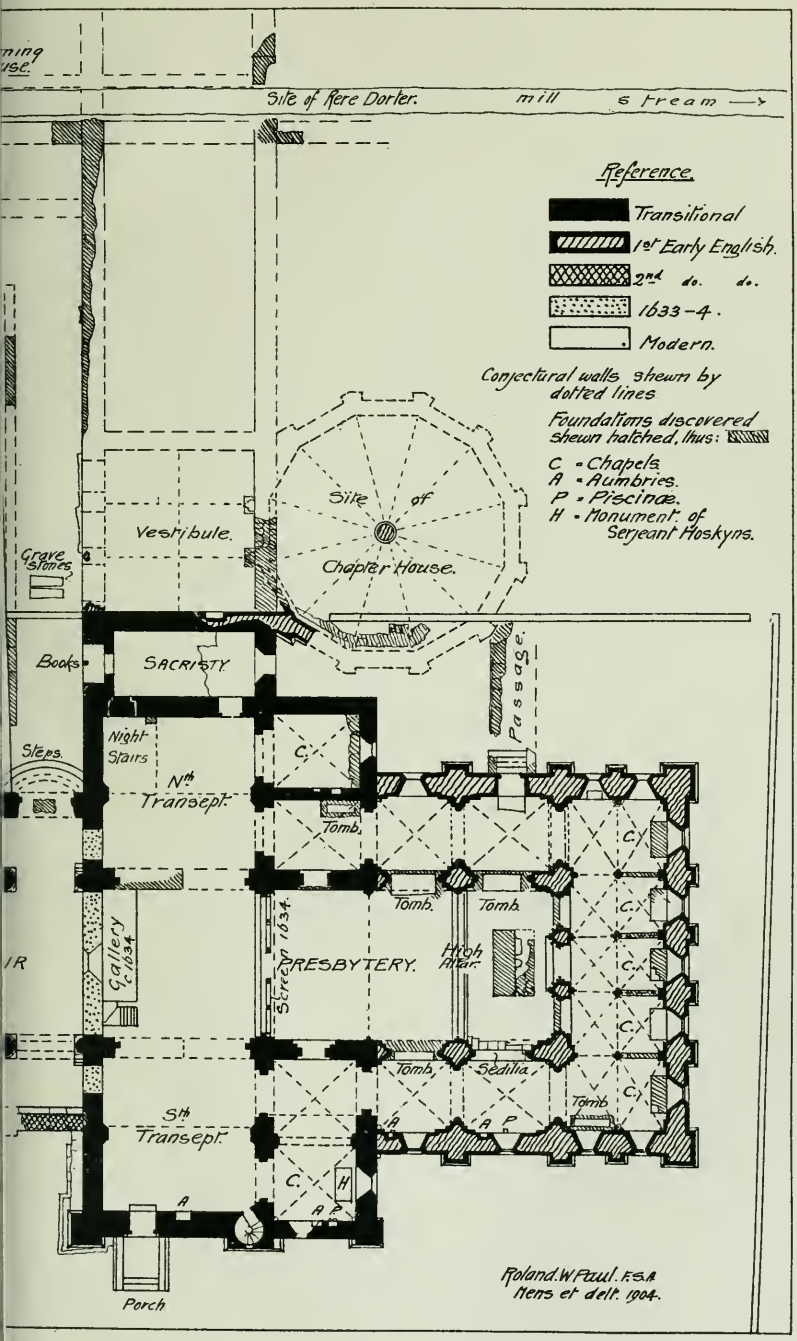
Kindly lent by Messrs. Jakeman & Carver.

CHURCH OF ABBEY DORE.



The Church & Monastery, ABBEY DORE, Herefordshire.
Ground-Plan.

C F. KELL & SON, PHOTO-LITHO. 8, FURNIVAL ST HOLBORN, E.C.



Site of Rere Dorter.
mill stream →
Reference.
Transitional
1st Early English.
2nd do. do.
1633-4.
Modern.
Conjectural walls shewn by dotted lines
Foundations discovered shewn hatched, thus:
C = Chapels.
A = Aumbries.
P = Piscinæ.
H = Monument of Serjeant Hoskyns.
Site of Chapter House.
Vestibule.
Grave stones
Books
SACRISTY
Passage.
Night Stairs
Steps.
Nth Transept.
C.
Tomb.
Tomb.
Tomb.
Gallery c 1634
Screen 1634.
PRESBYTERY.
High Altar.
Tomb.
Sedilia.
Tomb
Sth Transept.
A
A P
H
Porch
Roland. W Paul. F.S.A
Mens et delt. 1904.

The tower formerly stood apart from the church. It was no doubt used as a fortress in the times of border raids; the battering at the base should be noticed.

Abbey Dore was the next point of interest, and many of the visitors found their way thither by a pleasant walk over Ewias Harold Common. The abbey derives its name from the stream which flows hard by. Leland says, "The Brook of Dour runneth by the Abbey of Dour." *Dyr* was the ancient British word for water. The monks, who loved to play on words, called it the Abbey of val d'or. We have a "Golden Valley" in Gloucestershire.

Abbey Dore was founded as a Cistercian house by Robert fitz Harold, Lord of Ewias, in 1147; and it received gifts of lands from the Alans, Cliffords, Plonknetts, and other neighbouring proprietors. Very little is known of its history Perhaps it had none, except when the Welsh were making forays into Herefordshire. The monks abode in peace, forgotten or ignored. At the Dissolution the site of the abbey was granted to Lord Scudamore, and the church, stripped of its lead, quickly became ruinous like other Cistercian abbeys. But in 1631 a descendant of the grantee, Viscount Scudamore, a fervent churchman, who had been induced by Archbishop Laud to restore the tithes which he held to their proper use, determined to repair the eastern part of the church and fit it for Divine service. The church was consecrated on Palm Sunday, March 30th, 1634, by the Bishop of St. David's, according to an order drawn up by Dr. Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely. The high altar is the ancient altar of the church, which after having been used for the salting of meat and making of cheese, was recovered by Lord Scudamore and restored to its sacred purpose.[1]

The conventual church of St. Mary, Abbey Dore, when completed in the thirteenth century, was cruciform, consisting of a nave with aisles, a choir with transepts and four transeptal chapels, a presbytery with north and south aisles, and an eastern annex with five chapels. All that remains of the nave is one whole bay and the pier of another. The arch opening into the nave from the crossing has been walled up since 1631. The other arches opening into the choir and transepts remain. The choir has three bays on each side with lancet windows. The earlier style of architecture is that which prevailed in the time of Henry II.—Transitional Norman. It has for the most part the square Norman abacus, Norman capitals exhibiting imitations of the Ionic volute and Corinthian acanthus but pointed arches with dog-tooth ornamentation. The eastern aisle is later. It was probably an afterthought, but it quickly superseded the previous arrangement, *i.e.* choir and aisles with shallow apses. The white monks of Abbey Dore, like the canons of Hereford, were anxious to have an

[1] *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv. 491.

ambulatory for processions, and also additional chapels where masses might be said for the souls of generous donors. So they took down their newly-built apses, and constructed the eastern annex as we now see it. Similar changes were being made in other Cistercian houses—Fountains, Lyland, &c. The change of style in the beautiful clustered columns and capitals at the eastern end will be seen at once. It is still Transitional, but the foliage is of an Early English character, and the abacus is no longer square. The change was probably made in the reign of King John.

There are three instances where Cistercian churches or conventual buildings have been used as parish churches, and in every case only a portion has been preserved—the nave at Margam, the refectory or frater at Beaulieu, and all but the nave and nave aisles here at Abbey Dore. The Austin Canons' Church of Brinkburne in Northumberland has also been restored to the service of God from the condition of roofless ruin which Turner drew.

In 1260 Bishop Peter d'Acquablanca invited the faithful to contribute towards the building of the "sumptuous church of Dore," and his successor the saintly Cantilupe, consecrated the new work, at the risk of his life, owing to the armed opposition and interference of the Welsh. Mr. Blashill, in his paper on "The Architectural History of Abbey Dore," *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xli., pp. 363-371, thinks that the nave had been only partly built in the twelfth century and was completed at this time. The tower stands in the angle between the choir and south transept. It has been generally attributed to Viscount Scudamore, but Mr. Blashill thinks that it was built by the monks not long before the Dissolution. The original vaulting of the aisles remains, but the vaulting of the choir and transepts had fallen in. Lord Scudamore replaced it with wooden roofs, he also inserted new glass in the windows, and provided a chancel screen.

The conventual buildings, of which very little remains, were on the north side of the church, as at Tintern and Gloucester. The thirteenth century chapter house was twelve-sided, inside and out, with a clustered column in the centre to support the vaulting, and should be compared with that at Margam.

The heart of John de Breton Bishop of Hereford, 1269-1275, was buried at Dore. A diminutive effigy in relief and an incised inscription mark the spot. Two military effigies, with surcoats, swords, and shields, have been attributed to Robert fitz Harold, the founder, and Sir Roger de Clifford.

No one should visit Abbey Dore without feeling respect and gratitude for the conscientious nobleman who restored it. It was not here alone that he tried to undo by restitution the sacrilege of Reformation times. He also gave the tithes of Llanthony Priory, Gloucester, to the Rectory of

F. G. Savory, Phot.

MADLEY CHURCH.

Face page 34.

Hempsted. Moreover, he built the parsonage house at Hempsted at the cost of £700. We may venture to alter slightly the superscription over its porch and say:—

"Whoe'er doth dwell *at Abbey Dore*
Thank God for Viscount Scudamore."

A very interesting paper by Mr. Roland W. Paul, F.S.A., on the work of restoration which has been recently carried on under his care, was read by the Rev. A. Phillipps, Vicar of Abbey Dore. By the kindness of Mr. Paul the paper will be printed in the *Transactions*.

After a long and somewhat dusty drive, a refreshing tea, which the members found ready for them on the shady lawn of the vicarage at Madley, proved to be very welcome. The following description of the church of St. Mary, which was next visited, is taken from Murray's *Guide to Herefordshire* :—

"Madley Church is one of the largest in the diocese; the entire length being 170 ft. by 68 ft. wide. It is also architecturally one of the finest in Herefordshire, and consists of a nave and aisles, with a large chapel annexed to the South aisle, a handsome tower at the West end, and a chancel with a crypt underneath. It is principally of Decorated work, having a polygonal apse with windows of peculiar character over a fine octagonal crypt, with a central shaft and good groining, reached by two staircases on each side of the chancel, but altered in the fourteenth century, when the vaulted roof and central shaft replaced the original work. The windows, mostly of two lights, have the Early English and Decorated styles much intermixed. The west portion of the nave is of late Norman, with cushion capitals scalloped out in an unusual way. The shafts of some of the piers are ornamented longitudinally with a small projecting rib of the Decorated style. The fine Early English embattled tower is surmounted by a high turret called 'Jacob's Chair.' In the chancel are remains of stalls with desks and *misereres*. On the right of the altar are sedilia of Decorated character, ornamented with the ball-flower. This font is unusually large, hollowed out of a large block of 'plum-pudding' stone. The bells were brought in 1538 from the dissolved abbey of Dore."

The following account of the growth of this church is compiled from valuable notes made by Mr. A. T. Hancocks :—

"I.—The first period of building in Madley Church consists of the Norman church, which was composed of a nave with no aisles, choir and chancel, north and south transepts, with probably a central tower. As was usual in the cruciform plan of building, the choir started from the crossing of the transepts. Probably beyond this the chancel was slightly narrower.

"II.—The first alteration in the building of the church was in the thirteenth century, when it was much enlarged. North and south aisles

were added, the old Norman walls, north and south, were pulled down, and in their place the present nave piers were erected. . . . Four small windows were inserted in the east portion of the north aisle, also in the west portion, and on the other side of the church to correspond. The former *north transept*, much reduced in size by the addition of the north aisle, was turned into a *north porch*. The piers at the base of the tower are good examples of Transitional work.

"III.—The last period of building shows the addition of a curvilineal chancel with ten windows, some of which show they belong to the curvilineal period by the presence of the *ogee* curve, and others contain more geometrical tracery. A good curvilineal window was inserted in the south aisle—or, rather, at the east end of the Chilston Chapel, which was at this time added to the former south aisle. The east portion of the north aisle was raised several feet, and the original small windows replaced by larger ones. The windows in the south side of the Chilston Chapel were also inserted, to match those of the north aisle. In the fifteenth century the battlements of the tower were built, and the upper portion of the north porch was rebuilt in Perpendicular times. A fine window of the Perpendicular period was also placed in the south aisle.

"The font has been restored from the remains of the old Norman font; and the old rood screen was cut up to make a family pew, which is now at the east end of the north aisle."

The supports of the rood-beam are still to be seen on either side of the chancel arch.

Madley and Lulham appear in Domesday as possessions of the canons of Hereford; and it is claimed that at an earlier time St. Dubritius was born in this district, where three churches—those of Whitchurch, Hentland, and Ballingham—are dedicated in his name.

In the evening the Mayor of Hereford, Alderman H. C. BEDDOE, most kindly and hospitably received the members of the Society at the Townhall, where the city regalia and plate, the charters and seals, and a most interesting collection of pictures and documents illustrative of the history of the city and district had been gathered together for their inspection.

On Thursday morning members went by railway to Ludlow, which is not mentioned in Domesday under that name, though Ludecote, a small estate containing about 360 registered acres held of Earl Roger by Ralph the Cook and Thochi, may represent it in part. "Lud" is supposed by Mr. Eyton to be equivalent to our "lode," and to mean a "ford." "Low" in Shropshire and the adjoining counties means a burial mound or tumulus. The "low" which gave its name to Ludlow occupied the site of the parish church.

On reaching Ludlow the members without delay made their way to the castle, and spent the morning in a careful examination of the ruins under

the guidance of Canon Bazeley and Mr. Charles Fortey. The castle is supposed to have been built within ten years of the Great Survey, about 1086—1096, by Roger de Lacy, as under-lord of Osberne fitz Richard. In 1088 De Lacy rebelled against William Rufus, and died in exile, but his possessions passed to his more loyal brother Hugh, who died childless. Henry I. granted Ludlow to Payn fitz John, who was slain by the Welsh in 1136, leaving no issue. Stephen appointed as castellan Joyce de Dinan, a Norman knight, who rebelled against him. Accompanied by Prince Henry of Scotland, Stephen laid siege to the castle, and when the prince had been caught by a grappling-iron thrown from the walls the king rescued him with his own arm. It was about this time that Hugh de Mortimer is said to have been held prisoner by Joyce in the tower called by his name.

Henry II. restored Ludlow to the De Lacys, and they held it until the family died out in the male branch in the time of Henry III.

Peter de Genville held it early in the reign of Edward I., and his heiress married Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, who in 1316 was joint lord with Theobald de Vernon, grandson of John de Vere and Margaret de Lacy.

The Mortimers held the castle for five generations, and Roger de Mortimer entertained Edward III. here soon after the murder of Edward II. Roger, the fourth earl, obtained the De Lacy moiety by exchange.

On the death of Edward, the fifth earl, without issue, Ludlow Castle and the earldom of March came to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and he transmitted it to his son, Edward IV. In 1472 Edward IV. sent his sons to live at Ludlow Castle, under the protection of the Council of Wales. They remained there till 1483, when they were removed to London, and a few months later were murdered in the Tower of London.

Henry VII. sent Prince Arthur here in 1486, and he himself was a frequent visitor till the untimely death of the young prince in 1502.

Ludlow Castle, though in a ruinous state, continued to be the seat of the Council of Wales, under a president who in those days was usually a bishop. In 1559 Queen Elizabeth appointed Sir Henry Sidney as lord president, and he held the office twenty-seven years. He built the Tudor gatehouse in 1581 and the bridge leading to it.

In 1631 the presidency became vacant through the death of the Earl of Northampton, and it is stated by Clive and others that Sir John Bridgeman, of Prinknash Park, near Gloucester, acted as president until 1633, when John, Earl of Bridgewater, was appointed. But the duties of president seem to have been performed by the Council, of which Sir John Bridgeman, as Chief Justice of Chester, was chairman. Milton's masque of *Comus* was performed in the great hall of Ludlow Castle in 1634, and Lord Brackley

and Mr. Thomas Egerton, the two sons of the lord president, with their sister, the Lady Alice Egerton, took the principal parts. Sir John Bridgeman died at Ludlow Castle in February, 1637-8, and was buried in the north choir chapel of Ludlow Church.[1]

Butler, of whom we heard at Strensham, is said to have lived in the gatehouse, and to have written there part of his *Hudibras*. At the restoration he became secretary to Richard, Earl of Carbury, Lord President, who made him steward of Ludlow Castle, and as the first part of *Hudibras* was published in 1663 the tradition is no doubt correct.

Ludlow Castle was surrendered in 1646 to the Parliamentary General, Sir William Brereton, and the Court of the Marches was suppressed. It was restored in 1661, but finally abolished in 1689. The castle was occupied by a governor for a while, but in the time of George I. the lead was stripped from the roofs, and the building quickly became ruinous. When Buck wrote, in 1774, some of the apartments were entire, but they have been roofless for more than a century. The Powis family have held the freehold since 1811.

The castle stands on a rocky promontory, 100 feet high, overlooking the waters-meet of the Corve and Teme. Two sides are protected by the natural cliff, and at a radius of about 200 feet from the north-west extremity a deep ditch has been constructed from cliff to cliff. This encloses the middle and inner courts.

The outer court lies to the south and east of the inner ward on its town side. The outer ward was protected by a ditch, now filled in, and by a strong wall or curtain. The town was also walled, and its walls abutted on the castle. We entered the outer court through the gatehouse, which has a range of Tudor stabling on its south side, and one square Norman tower on its north.

The gatehouse is a semi-circular tower, bearing the name of Mortimer. We then crossed the outer court, and, passing through a doorway in the south-west corner, found ourselves outside the castle walls, near the south-west angle where the wall branches off southwards towards the bridge.

Proceeding northwards we examined the castle in detail. Mortimer's tower, half round in plan and Early English in date, has a basement and three upper floors. There is a well stair in the north-east angle, and just below the parapet is a row of corbels to support a wooden gallery. There are additions and insertions of later date.

Next to this is the bakehouse tower, at the junction of the inner and outer courts. Then we came to the Norman postern tower, with a postern door in its northern face. It marks the junction of the middle and inner wards. At the north-west angle is a lofty group of towers containing the buttery. The curtain beyond forms the north side of the great hall and

[1] *History of Prinknash Park*, by W. Bazeley, 1890, p. 23.

state apartments. Then projects the garderobe tower, which really forms part of the private apartments. Last of all, at the north-east angle, is a fine tower of Norman date which in all probability, was the original keep. The north curtain of the outer court has been removed, and a private residence is being constructed on the edge of the cliff.

We then passed a small Norman flanking tower and re-entered the outer court. The bridge by which entrance is given to the middle ward was probably constructed in later times.

The lofty building on the left has been called the keep, but it was the great inner gatehouse. Recent excavations have made it plain that the drawbridge and main entrance were west of the present bridge.

The Tudor building on the right was erected for the members of the council by Sir Henry Sidney, for it bears his arms. It was, no doubt, the official residence of Sir John Bridgeman, Chief Justice of Chester from 1625 to 1638.

As we passed into the inner court, before ascending the newell staircase of the so-called keep, we saw clearly that the lower basement was a Norman arcaded slype, or passage, with four bays on either side, and a covered passage in the wall with two doors, of which Mr. G. T. Clark overlooked the use. It was evidently intended for admission when it was unnecessary to fling open the heavy doors.

The north wall and much else of this building is of a later date than Norman. The lower steps of the staircase leading up to the first floor are now outside the building, which was reduced in width from north to south in the thirteenth century. Final alterations were made in the Tudor period. The inner ward has the bakehouse tower on the south-west, the postern tower on the north-west, and a deep well.

We passed again into the middle ward, and found on our right remains of the great kitchen, built against the curtain which divides the two courts. The great pile of buildings on the north contain, in order, the butteries (below) and the apartments said to have been occupied by Prince Arthur (above). The great hall, a noble apartment, 60 feet long, 30 feet broad, and 35 feet high, occupied the first floor of the next building. It was approached by a broad external staircase, and had three long, narrow windows on its north and south sides. In the west end were two buttery doors, and at the north-west corner a door opened into a well staircase. At the east end were the raised daïs and minstrels' gallery. The central south window was converted into a Tudor fireplace.

This hall has witnessed many historic scenes. Many of our kings and princes have joined here in the wild revelries of earlier times. Here the young Egertons presented Milton's *Comus* in 1634. Next to the great hall, and projecting beyond it into the court, are the state apartments, with grand fireplaces and doorways of various styles—Decorated, Perpendicular

and Tudor. The space between these apartments and the corner tower was probably appropriated to the servants below and to state bedrooms above. The north-eastern tower is of Norman date, and its sides form parts of the north and east curtains.

The chapel, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, is a most remarkable feature of the castle. It stands out in the middle of the ward. All that remains of it above ground is the circular nave, 28 feet in diameter inside, with a wall 4 feet thick. The west entrance and the chancel arch are richly ornamented with chevron and double billet mouldings The fourteen arches of the inner arcade, which are alternately chevron moulded and beaded, have cushion-shaped capitals. Above the arcade was a timber gallery resting on twelve corbels. There were three windows, one only of which was ornamented. It is evident that a gallery of two stages was constructed to connect the domestic apartments with the chapel, the upper stage of which opened into the gallery of the chapel.

The chancel, as shown by recent excavations, has been altered more than once. Originally it consisted of a small rectangular apse; then it was lengthened by the addition of a polygonal apse, and last of all was carried eastwards to the curtain which formed its eastern end. In later times, certainly, it had no east window. The chancel was standing in the time of Charles II., and had two Tudor windows in its north wall and windows in the roof. Joyce de Dinan is said to have built this chapel; it is about his date—1136.

The only other circular churches in England are the Temple Church, 1127, and those of Cambridge, Northampton, Maplestead, and Dover. The foundations of the last alone remain. The foundations also of an *oral* church exist under the nave of the Templars' Church of the Holy Cross at Bristol.

In front of the chapel are the foundations of a fountain, said to have been prepared as a surprise for Queen Elizabeth by Sir Henry Sidney.

Ludlow Castle is described in *Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 273.

The Society is much indebted to one of our members, Mr. R. W. Dugdale, who kindly took the beautiful photographs which have been reproduced for this description.

After lunch members repaired to the parish church, where they were most courteously received by the rector, the Rev. E. Clayton, Prebendary of Hereford, who explained in detail the various points of interest in the sacred building. This noble church, which is dedicated to St. Lawrence, consists of a nave of six bays, with north and south aisles, a central lantern tower, transepts, and a chancel, a Lady Chapel on the south side, and St. John's Chapel on the north. The church is of Norman foundation, and many traces of the original work remain—for example, a Norman capital

R. W. Dugdale, Phot.

Face page 40.

CHAPEL, TUDOR GATEHOUSE, AND KEEP.

R. W. Dugdale, Phot.

GREAT HALL, STATE APARTMENTS, AND CHAPEL.

INTERIOR OF GREAT HALL.

WEST DOOR OF CHAPEL.

from the nave. The church appears to have been transformed at various dates. The nave aisles were raised in height and Early English windows were inserted in the middle of the thirteenth century. The south transept is Geometrical, about 1280. The north aisle of the nave, which is Decorated, was re-constructed early in the fourteenth century, whilst the north transept, with its Flamboyant east and west windows, is, perhaps, as late as 1330. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the nave piers were rebuilt and the lofty tower erected, support being obtained by flinging four half-arches as flying buttresses from the tower to the east and west ends of the transepts. Most of the windows belong to this and subsequent periods.

The massive rood-loft still exists, as well as the stairs. There are also screens in both transepts. The late fourteenth-century stalls have remarkable grotesque carving. The hind ducally collared and chained, the badge of Richard II., as painted on the pillars near Edward II.'s tomb in Gloucester Cathedral, gives us their date. The east window contains the legend of St. Lawrence, the patron saint of the church.

There is a singular opening in the east wall of the chancel, lighted by a low fourteenth-century window. The heart of Arthur, Prince of Wales, was buried in the chancel, but the casket in which it was enshrined is said to have been stolen by a sexton in 1748.

The restored reredos contains the figures of apostles, evangelists, and angels and scenes in our Lord's life and ministry.

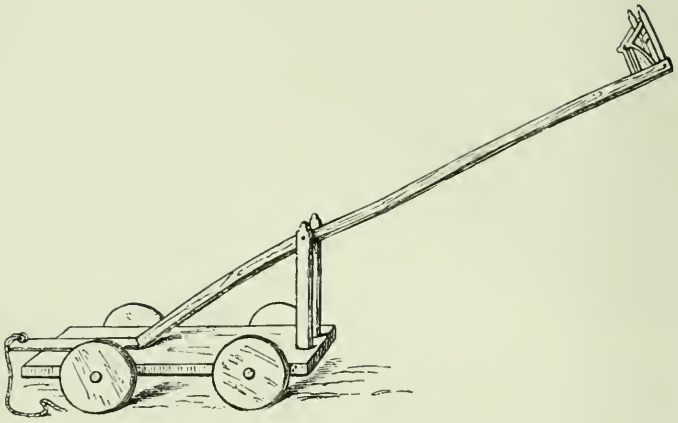
In the Chapel of St. John, which was a chantry chapel of the Palmers' Guild, are four windows filled with original glass. The first contains representations of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the Annunciation, St. Katherine of Alexandria, St. Anthony and St. Christopher, and the Lord's Prayer. The second and third windows contain the Twelve Apostles, with their symbols, each reciting a portion of the Apostles' Creed. Rays of light pouring down upon their heads from above symbolise Divine inspiration.

The east window depicts a legend of St. John the Evangelist, the saint to whom this aisle is dedicated Pilgrims are leaving for the Holy Land, King Edward the Confessor gives them his ring by way of alms. They meet St. John disguised as a beggar, to whom they give the ring. They receive it back from him, and return it to the king. They receive a charter from the king, perhaps founding their Palmers' Guild. Then there is a service of thanksgiving in some minster, the men of Ludlow give them a loving welcome home, and a festival is held to celebrate their pilgrimage and safe return. On the south side of this chapel, resting on an altar tomb, are the effigies of Sir John Bridgeman, of Prinknash Park, Gloucestershire, and his lady. They are evidently carved by the same hand as the Blackleach effigies in the south transept of Gloucester

Cathedral. From the vast number of aumbreys, or cupboards for sacred vessels, and piscinæ, we may gather that this noble church contained many altars, and that there were many chantry priests. Near the west end of the north aisle of the nave there are two recessed tombs conjoined, with three kneeling places for mourners. To the east of the church is the reader's house, a beautiful example of Renaissance domestic architecture.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Prebendary Clayton for the kindly interest he had taken in our visit. On leaving the church some of the members devoted the rest of the afternoon to the examination of objects of interest in Ludlow, while a large party went on to Leominster.

On arriving at Leominster a visit was first paid to the old Butter Cross, which was set up by John Abel in 1633, but which has been removed from its old site and erected at the Grange, where it is used as a dwelling-house. It is a very interesting specimen of Herefordshire timber work. The members then made their way to the church which gives its name to the town. This noble old English minster is said to have been founded probably about 660, by Merewald, son of Penda, King of the Mercians, who ruled over the Western Hecani or men of Herefordshire. In later times it was a house of nuns; for in 1046 Swegen, son of Earl Godwin, and Earl of Hereford, sent for Eadgifu, Abbess of Leominster, and after keeping her with him awhile, sent her home. He then strove to marry her, but this was forbidden, and he fled the country. In later days we hear of Hakon, son of Swegen, who may have been the child of Eadgifu, and who it is not unlikely was that Hakon, son of an earl, who, the Worcester Chronicle tells us, perished after a plundering expedition against St. Peter's Minster at York in 1076. If this were so, he died before his mother; for a pathetic little entry in Domesday seems to show us the former Abbess of Leominster living out a sad old age of poverty and disgrace. Among the entries concerning the lands of the minster is this: "Abbatissa tenet Fencote & ipsa tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi. Ibi i hida libera & iiii villani cum ii carucis." *The Abbess holds Fencote, and she held it in King Edward's time. Here is one hide quit of geld, and four villeins with two teams.* (D.B., f. 180.) This was fully forty years after Earl Swegen, returning from his triumphant expedition into South Wales, called the Abbess of Leominster to him and brought ruin on her and on her house. The Lady Edith—to her disgrace be it told—had profited by her brother's fault, and held the lands of the minster for her life. In Domesday they appear as a possession of the king, rated at eighty hides and valued at £120, of which amount half went to the support of the nuns. The story that Earl Godwin procured the destruction of the minster at Berkeley by means similar to those which ruined Leominster is destitute of any foundation of historical evidence, and rests in the first instance on the writings of Walter Mapes,



CUCKING STOOL IN LEOMINSTER CHURCH.
Length: 23 feet 6 inches.

By the kind permission of the Council of the Archæological Institute.

who is last heard of in 1208. Henry I. laid the first stone of his abbey at Reading in 1121, and by his foundation charter, granted in 1125, he bestowed upon it, among other things, the possessions of Leominster, which abbey, he says, had been destroyed on account of misconduct; the grant had been confirmed, so far as Leominster was concerned, by Richard, Bishop of Hereford, in a charter dated 1123. Till the Dissolution Leominster continued to be a cell of Reading Abbey; but even so it did not lose all its ancient dignity, for it was the wealthiest cell in the kingdom, its estates being valued in 1536 at £660 16s. 8d. The Priory was a small building to the north-east of the minster; its site was afterwards occupied by the Poorhouse.

The church, measuring 125 feet by 108 feet, gives in the interior a general effect of breadth and space, and affords a curious instance of growth by lateral extension. On the north is a Norman nave (1113—1148), with St. Anthony's aisle on the north side, and a western tower of two storeys, surmounted by two more storeys of Perpendicular date. Early in the thirteenth century the south aisle of the Norman church was removed, and a noble Early English nave was built, which was consecrated in 1239; its later west window recalls the style of the great west window at Gloucester Cathedral. Finally, another nave was added in the Decorated style to the south of the one consecrated in 1239, with beautiful windows ornamented with ball-flowers and three sedilia. In the north aisle of the Norman church is preserved the ancient ducking stool. It consisted of a seat at the end of a long pole, balanced on a stand with wheels; the offender was placed in the seat, the machine was run to the water's edge, and the ducking could be administered till a cure was effected.

Mr. Carrington gave the following information concerning the Leominster stool in the *Archæological Journal*, xv. 77, 78. The cucking stool at Leominster is "movable and on four wheels, the chair is at the end of a beam, and is worked on the see-saw principle; and I was told by Mr. Dickens, the registrar of births and deaths, that he recollected a woman called Jenny Pipes, but whose real name was Crump, who was ducked at Leominster in the year 1809, and who died at a very advanced age; and he also recollected Sarah Leeke being placed in the chair, and wheeled round the town, about the year 1817, but she could not be ducked because the water was too low. Mr. Dickens also stated that the persons ducked were immersed at three different parts of the town, twice in the river Lug and once in a pond; and that when the machine was wheeled through the town, the woman in the chair at the end of the beam was nearly as high as the first floor windows of the houses; and I have been told that the tomb of the person called Jenny Pipes is near the great west door of Leominster Church."

After viewing this warning against excessive garrulity, the members

made their way to Hereford and thence to their homes, having spent together three very pleasant and, it is to be hoped, very profitable days.

Lack of time, unfortunately prevented the holding of the usual meeting for passing votes of thanks to those who had contributed to the usefulness and enjoyment of the meeting, and for the consideration of places of meeting in 1905. But none the less did the members who attended the meeting acknowledge their deep debt of gratitude to the Mayor and Mayoress of Hereford for the use of the Guildhall, and for their courteous welcome. To the Lord Bishop of Hereford and Mrs. Percival, and to the Mayor of Hereford, for their generous hospitality. To the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, and to the clergy of the various churches which were visited for allowing the members to see their interesting churches. To the owners of Ludlow Castle, the old Butter Cross at Leominster, and other ancient and interesting houses which were visited by the members. To H. Cecil Moore, Esq., M.D., Miss M. Armitage, and the members of the Local Committee, for the excellent way in which the arrangements for the meeting were carried out; and particularly to Miss M. Bull, the Rev. Canon Williams, and Mr. Langton Brown, for kind help with regard to the Cathedral Library, and for information concerning books relating to Gloucester contained therein. To the General Secretary for the admirable programme which he had prepared and for his success in carrying out the programme, and also to the gentlemen who so kindly provided the instructive series of photographs with which the programme was illustrated. The selection of places of meeting in 1905 will be brought under the consideration of the Council.

THE EARLY CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF GLOUCESTER AND HEREFORD.

By The Hon. and Very Rev. JAMES WENTWORTH LEIGH, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Hereford,
President of the Society.

I need scarcely say how greatly I appreciate the honour you have conferred upon me by electing me President of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for the ensuing year, and I trust that I may not prove myself unworthy of the position. I can, I think, claim to be a Gloucestershire man, having spent many of my younger years at Adlestrop in that county, and my family having been connected with that place for upwards of 300 years. I would first desire, on the part of the cathedral body, and also on the part of the Woolhope Field Club, to add our hearty welcome to that of the Mayor and Corporation on the occasion of your visit to this ancient city.

You will find many subjects of great interest which are closely connected with the two Dioceses of Gloucester and Hereford, but as some of these subjects will be touched upon by those well qualified to speak concerning them, it will not be necessary for me to enter at any length into particulars with regard to those places which will be brought under your notice during your visit. I refer especially to St. Guthlac's Priory, Abbey Dore, Madley, Kilpeck, Ewias Harold. I would rather wish to confine my remarks to the connection between the Abbots of Gloucester and the Bishops of Hereford, and to refer to certain manuscripts in our ancient chained library, and a few records from the archives of the Dean and Chapter bearing upon this subject.

In passing, I may mention that an admirable history of Ewias Harold, its Castle and Priory, has been written by the Vicar, the Rev. A. T. Bannister, and that the Rev. R. Hyatt Warner, Vicar of Almeley, is writing two articles in

the *Diocesan Messenger* on St. Guthlac's Without-the-Walls, Hereford, the first part of which appears in the number for July, and the second part is to appear in September. I will give one brief extract: "It is not easy to fix the date or origin of St. Guthlac's or to say how the Lincolnshire saint came to be honoured in Herefordshire. Guthlac belonged to an old family of the Kingdom of Mercia, in which kingdom Croyland and Hereford were both comprised, and it is quite conceivable that the Hereford community may have been originally an offshoot of the Lincolnshire brotherhood which grew up in memory of the famous hermit. Among the valuable MSS. in Belmont Priory there is one containing 'extract from an ancient roll beginning with the foundation of the Abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester in 687 and ending 1263, now in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester concerning grants made to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and to St. Guthlac's Priory in Hereford in A.D. 1143.'"

At the time of William the Conqueror the ancient Abbey of Gloucester had lost much of its original greatness, and was reduced to two monks and eight boys. William the Conqueror appointed Serlo as abbot, who raised the abbey to a condition of wealth and splendour, so that in 1100 there were more than 100 monks. As distant farms and manors were bestowed, the monks served different churches, so that after a time in the distant manors "cells" or small priories were established to which a few monks were sent, and among these attached to the Abbey of Gloucester were six dependent houses at Hereford, Bromfield, Ewias, Stanley, Kilpeck and Ogmore.

The first stone of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Gloucester, was laid in 1089 by Robert, Bishop of Hereford, who was the builder of the earliest part of Hereford Cathedral. St. Peter's was eleven years in building, and the dedication took place in 1100, when four bishops and many nobles were present. The Bishop of Hereford was the first to make a grant of lands to the abbey, and his example was followed

by Harold of Ewias, who endowed the monks of Gloucester with lands at Kentchurch. The Cistercian Abbey of Dore was founded by Robert FitzHarold of Ewias 1147.

Among the most distinguished names connected with Gloucester and Hereford is that of Gilbert Ffolliot, who was appointed by King Stephen at the desire of Milo the Constable to be Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, having been called from the monastery of Clugny, where he was a monk. He was consecrated 1139 by Robert de Bethune, Bishop of Hereford, who had formerly been a prior of Llanthony. In the same year the army of the Empress under Milo, who had deserted the side of Stephen, again attacked Hereford, seized the cathedral, and used it as a fortress from which to besiege the castle. The clergy were driven out and the interior of the church was used as a stable, the tower being utilised as a platform from which to hurl missiles. Meanwhile there had been continued assaults on Gloucester made by the Welsh, who had robbed the possessions of the monks of St. Peter's. Later on the King, being greatly enraged on account of the desertion of his followers under Milo, vented his wrath against the abbot, Gilbert, who being in great straits made an urgent appeal for assistance to the powerful Bishop of Lincoln, entreating him to use his influence in appeasing the King's anger. "You are so placed by the Lord," he says, "as to be a ready source of help to those who are beneath you, and so what the City of Gloucester cannot obtain by itself or by the aid of the Bishop of Hereford, it may yet obtain by the help of the Bishop of Lincoln."

In 1141, when Stephen was made prisoner, the Empress became for a time Sovereign of England, and she rewarded Milo by making him Earl of Hereford. Bishop Robert de Bethune was present at Winchester on the day on which Matilda was accepted there by the clergy, and, having returned to Hereford, purified the cathedral and restored the services; but his troubles were not yet over, for in order to raise money to pay his soldiers, Milo laid a tax on the

churches in his earldom and included the bishop in its assessment. He found, however, a determined opponent in Bishop Robert, who boldly resisted his unlawful demands, and at last threatened him with excommunication.

In the midst of all this turmoil the Earl met his death by a chance shot at a hunting party near the Abbey of Flaxley, in the Forest of Dean, the building of which Bishop Robert had assisted only three years before. This powerful enemy removed and order somewhat restored in the diocese, Bishop Robert resumed his work of piety and munificence, which had been interrupted by the civil war, and among them the great work of completing the fabric of the cathedral.

He also removed from its site, as a place unfit for religious retirement, the Benedictine Priory of St. Guthlac to a new site outside the city wall, under the name of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Guthlac, already united to the Church of St. Peter Within-the-Walls and subject to the Abbey of Gloucester.

There had been strained relations at one time between the bishop and his friend the abbot, due to the delinquencies of certain Welshmen in the Diocese of Hereford, but a reconciliation took place, and in token of this the bishop sent the abbot a present of two fish (salmon, we may presume), which the abbot acknowledged at great length, saying that the bishop had made him his debtor, because the gift is not only sustenance for the body, but also furnishes food for the mind. "You have sent me two fish of the same kind (one large, one small), both good, all which furnishes my inner man with as many dishes as the mind is instructed by example." Then follows a long dissertation or preamble. The original document is in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford. On the death of Robert de Bethune, 1148, he was succeeded in the See of Hereford by his great friend Gilbert Ffolliot, the abbot, who had formerly been a Cluniac monk and prior of Abbeville. . . . He obtained from the Pope the restoration to the cathedral of the four prebends appropriated by Bishop Robert to the Church

of Llanthony Secundus. He was translated to London, and his successor at Hereford was Robert of Maledon, a prior of Llanthony. He was present at the famous scene between Becket and Henry II., and, with Gilbert Ffolliot, attempted to take the cross from the Archbishop. Among other bishops in some way connected with Gloucester I might mention Hugh de Mapenore, who was consecrated at Gloucester 1213; Richarde Smufield, consecrated at Gloucester 1283; and Reginald Boulers, who was an abbot of Gloucester 1451, and was afterwards translated to Lichfield.

In 1541 a great change was made in the boundaries of the Diocese of Hereford by the withdrawal from it of the Forest Deanery in order to form part of the new Diocese of Gloucester. Such benefices also in Herefordshire as had belonged to the Abbey of Gloucester were annexed to the new See as part of its endownent. By an omission in the Act, however, the jurisdiction neither of the Bishop nor of the Archdeacon of Hereford was taken away, and that of the bishop remained for some time longer, whilst that of the archdeacon was not removed until 1836.

There are many valuable MSS. among the chained volumes in the Cathedral Library which have reference to transactions between the Abbey of Gloucester and the See of Worcester. A list of these has been made by Mr. Langton Brown, our assistant librarian, and is herewith appended.

Among the archives in the possession of the Dean and Chapter is a clearly-written document, 1070, in wonderful preservation, being an order from William the Conqueror to Wulstan, and it is for restitution to the Abbey of Gloucester of certain lands appropriated by Aldred :—

Translation: "William, King of England, to Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and William Fitz-Osborn, and all his barons and officers of Gloucester and Worcester, greeting. Know ye that I have granted, restored and confirmed to God and St. Peter of Gloucester, and to Serlo, abbot to the monks of the same church, all their lands which Thomas, Archbishop

of York, held without right, viz.: Leach, Oddington, and Standish, with all their appurtenances, as free and unencumbered, as it has been admitted before me that the same lands belonged to the said Church of St. Peter of Gloucester from the foundation thereof, and that the same Archbishop had no title to these lands.

"*Witnesses:* Llanfranc, Archbishop, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutance, and Robert, Earl of Morton."

[Seal.]

1162–1171. Complaint from Roger de Berkely to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, as to right of presentation to St. Leonard's, Stanley: Roger de Berkeley gave to the prior and monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester, the Church of St. Leonard's, and all pertaining thereto.

1209. Grant of Robert de Berkeley (son of Maurice) to the Church of St. Leonard, Stanley (near Stroud), of his woodland at Cowley.

[Seal of Grantor.]

1244–1260. Lease of lands at Ebley under Priory Seal of John Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester.

EFFIGIES OF BRISTOL.

By I. M. ROPER.

*** *The Latin epitaphs are reproduced as they stand.*

(Continued from p. 287, Vol. xxvi Part II.)

ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH.—Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

1. Military. Knight in armour cross-legged above the knee.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. More than life-size, 7 ft. 6 in. long.

5. The knight is enveloped from head to foot in a complete suit of chain mail. A hauberk with long sleeves and mittens reaches nearly to the knees, and is cut up in front, the coif or hood being of the same piece. Over the mail is worn a long, loose flowing surcoat, sleeveless, and girdled with a narrow belt or cingulum, and open below it. The legs are covered with chausses of mail extending over the feet, with straps for the prick spurs.

The very broad sword belt is loosely buckled over the hips, and to it is fastened a long, straight-hilted sword, held by the left hand obliquely and in the act of being drawn by the right. This is one of the earliest examples of the sword being handled by the wearer. Borne upright on the left arm is a large heater-shaped shield, the guige or strap passing round the right shoulder.

The eyes are closed, and there is a small moustache.

Similar armour is shown on the effigy of Sir David de Esseby before 1268, Castle Ashby Church, Northampton-

shire, and the peculiarity of closed eyes occurs on the effigy of Sir Gerald de l'Isle about 1287, Stowe-nine-churches, in the same county.

6. The head rests on two square pillows, the upper one smaller and set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down.

8. A plain stone altar-tomb.

9. There is no inscription.

(*a*) Supposed to be ROBERT II., 3rd Lord Berkeley, died 1220, aged 55.[1]

(*b*) Supposed to be ROBERT DE WERE, died 1229.[2]

(*c*) Tradition assigns the effigy to William Burton.[3]

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The features are very much worn. The right elbow and half of the shield have been cut away. The legs and the bottom of the surcoat have been repaired.

12. Placed on the floor in the north transept; now at the north-east corner; but in Britton's time at the south-west side. The mutilations prove that these were not its original positions. The armour shows that the figure belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century, which is a time previous to the building of the present church of St. Mary Redcliffe.

Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 345) suggests that the effigy was erected in the Hospital of St. Catherine's, Bedminster, Bristol (which was founded by Lord Robert in 1220, and where the anniversary of his death was yearly celebrated), whence it was removed to St. Mary Redcliffe Church for preservation when St. Catherine's was dissolved in 1549, and became a secular building.

Smyth (*Lives of the Berkeleys*, p. 98) states that Lord Robert de Berkeley was buried in the north aisle of St. Augustine's Monastery, Bristol, "over against the high altar"; but it was customary for the effigy of a founder to be placed in such hospitals, notwithstanding the body being buried elsewhere.

[1] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 583.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 91, note.

[3] Britton, *Essay on Redcliffe Church*, p. 17.

13. Poorly illustrated in *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 197.

14. The effigy is in a very worn condition.

15. (*a*) Robert, 3rd Lord Berkeley, was born in 1165, and as a youth is described as pious and good under the tutelage of the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol. After a training in arms at the Court of Henry II., he took up his position as head of the family, on succeeding his father in 1189, and assumed the name of "Berkeley" instead of "Harding."

In the political struggles with King John he forfeited all his estates in 1212, and, on having them restored, he again lost them in 1216. He quickly made his peace, and recovered most of them in the next year, on the accession of Henry III.

After being twice married, he died without issue in 1220. His second wife, Luci, survived him, and afterwards married Hugh de Gourney, younger brother of Robert de Gourney, joint founder of St. Mark's Hospital, Bristol.[1]

(*b*) Robert de Were was third son of Robert Fitzharding and father of Robert de Gaunt. From his father he received the manor and lordship of Were, co. Somerset, together with divers other manors and lands, the three Hundreds of Portbury, Bedminster, and Hareclive in Somerset, which Hundreds his son Maurice, being without issue, reconveyed to his cousin Thomas, Lord Berkeley. This would be the branch of the family of Gaunts that held the lordship of Stowe, Northamptonshire, from the Conquest to the end of the thirteenth century. Robert de Were died 14 Henry III. (1229), but the place of his burial is not recorded.[2]

(*c*) The identity of William Burton is not known.

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1. Ecclesiastical. Priest in plain clerical dress.
2. Recumbent effigy in relief.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 6 in. long.

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 91, 96 and 98.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 91, note by Sir John Maclean.

5. The figure is dressed in a very full cassock or "tunica talaris," reaching nearly to the feet, fastened at the throat with three buttons and girdled with a narrow belt buckled in front. The sleeves are rather short, and show the tight sleeves of an under-garment closely buttoned to the wrist.

On the feet are low shoes, broad-toed and strapped across the instep. The hair is thick and curly, the tonsure small, and the face clean shaven. The hands are clasped in prayer.

6. The head rests on a square, tasselled pillow, set diagonally.

7. The feet, far apart, rest on the slab only.

8. The slab with effigy in relief appears to have been a tombstone of rectangular shape, but Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 340) calls it the lid of a coffin, the opening of which he describes.

9. Inscription at the feet of effigy in ancient characters:

Johes ◇ lavyngton.

JOHN LAVYNGTON, died about 1411.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The nose is defaced and the slab broken in places.

12. Placed on the floor of the tower, westward of the north porch.

The tombstone is stated by Dingley (*History from Marble*, Cambrian Society, p. 62, written 1660–85) to be seen "near this church in an office belonging to the School-house." This building, with chantries, was erected about 1250, in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliffe, as a Chapel of the Holy Ghost, and was afterwards given by Queen Elizabeth to trustees for use as a free grammar school, being taken down in 1762. The tombstone was rediscovered in 1776, being dug up under the west window of this chapel.[1] After that the tombstone was placed at the south-west end of the church, and is shown in that position in Britton's ground plan. About 1877 it was removed to its present position.

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in

[1] Archdeacon Norris, *Redcliffe Church*, 1888, pp. 37 and 63.

Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc., vol. ix., part i., p. 70; illustrated in *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 206; sketched in Dingley, *History from Marble*, Cambrian Society, p. 62.

14. The figure is in good condition.

15. Nothing is known of the history of John Lavyngton, except that he was probably chaplain of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, situated in the churchyard; because this stone was dug up under the west window of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost in the churchyard in 1776.

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1. Civilian. Mayor in gown of office.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The figure wears a long supertunic reaching in plain folds nearly to the feet, high in the neck, and with long, full sleeves, showing the sleeves of an under-garment. Over this is worn a mayor's gown, which is closed from right to left across the chest, but open down to the feet below the waist. The collar is small and turned down, and the pendent sleeves are very long, hanging nearly to the bottom of the gown. Both garments are edged with fur round the bottom and the sleeves. The supertunic is girdled by a narrow belt, to which is attached on the right side a plain analace. On the left shoulder rests a peculiar-shaped cap, in high favour in the middle of the fifteenth century—it is circular in shape, like a turban—to which is fastened a straight-folded scarf, hanging down two inches below the tunic. On the feet are half-boots, cut open in front to show the tongue, and buckled across with a strap. The features are well carved and show refinement. As they resemble somewhat those on his effigy as dean, this is probably an attempted portrait. The face is clean shaven and the head bald, with short curly hair at the sides. The eyes are open, and the hands are clasped in prayer.

Similar cap is shown on the brass of notary *c.* 1475,

St. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich; on brass of Walter Colney, 1479, Lynn; on the brass of Benet, Cirencester Church; and on effigy of so-called "purse bearer," Redcliffe Church, Bristol.

6. Two small angels support the head, which rests on two small, square, tasselled pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The left foot rests on a small hound (mutilated), sitting up, a collar round the neck. The right foot is against a block of sculptured stone.

8. A slab with effigy is placed on the floor in a recessed arch. The pointed arch springs from the head of a negro on one side and from that of a bearded man on the other, its outer edge being curved into three beautiful finials of fig-leaves, with a border of the same. The inner edge is of plain cusps, and the spandrels pierced with open work.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be WILLIAM CANYNGES, junior, died 1474.

On an altar-tomb beneath an arched testoon, known to be connected with this effigy and that of his wife, now in the south transept, there is an inscription on a scroll across the cornice:

"Orate pro Aniabus Gulielmi Canngnæ quondam
hujus Villæ et Johannæ Uxoris ejus."

On a loose board at the back of the same tomb is the following Latin inscription:—

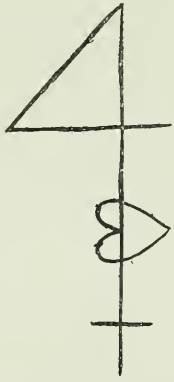
"Hic inferius tumulatur corpus nobilis, circumspecti magnæque industriæ vll, Willi. Canyngs, dudum mercatoris et quinquies majoris istius villæ et postea in ordine sacerdotali per septennium instituti, ac Decani de Westbury; qui in ista ecclesia duas Cantarias perpetuas Duorum Capellanorum; viz. Unam in Honorem St. Georgii et alteram in Honorem St. Catharinæ ac etiam unum clericum stabiliri fecit et Mariæ Virgini Sacravit cum sua Johanna Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen."

TRANSLATION.

"Beneath this stone lies entombed the body of William Canynges, formerly a famous upright and industrious merchant, and five times mayor of this town; afterwards he was in holy orders for the space of seven years, and Dean of Westbury. In this church he founded two perpetual chantries, with two chaplains —one in honour of St. George, the other in honour of St. Catharine. He also, together with his wife, Johanna, appointed one priest, and consecrated him to the service of the Virgin Mary. On whose souls may God have mercy. Amen."[1]

In the centre panel on the front of the tomb is painted a shield bearing the arms: "Argent three boars' heads couped, 2 and 1, sable, wreathed or and azure," CANYNGES.

On a small shield held by a demi-angel on the canopy is the merchant's mark.



MERCHANT MARK OF WILLIAM CANYNGES.
St. Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The hound is mutilated and the garments are chipped. The nose and tops of the fingers have been restored.

12. Now fixed in a restored recess in the south aisle, towards the west. There is but little doubt that this was the original position of the effigy, erected at or before Canynges' death. It must have been removed hence and placed, together with the effigy of the wife, on a sculptured tomb in the south transept, built at some time in the place previously

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 349.

occupied by the altar of St. Catherine's Chapel. When this tomb was built is unknown, or for what purpose, but the figures were lying on it before 1684, as shown by a contemporary sketch. The effigies rested on it, on separate slabs, till 1877, when they were again put back, each in its original recess.[1]

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xviii., part ii., plate iv.

The cap illustrated in Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, and in Fairholt, *Book of Costume*, p. 188.

The tomb illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate vi. (with effigies), and drawn by J. Hine (without effigies).

14. The effigy is in good condition, but not quite so well preserved as that of the wife in adjoining recess.

15. William Canynges was a very great merchant and shipowner at Redcliffe Street, Bristol, being also five times mayor and twice member of Parliament. After the Wars of the Roses he had to pay in 1461 the heavy fine mentioned in another epitaph, either for the city or for himself, having been on the Lancastrian side.

Like his grandfather and others, he took part in rebuilding Redcliffe Church, completing the clerestory and roof, besides endowing two chantries and certain charities.

After the death of his wife he gradually gave up business, and became a priest in 1467, being appointed shortly afterwards Dean of Westbury-on-Trym College, where he rebuilt part of the church and offices. His wife, Joanna, died in 1460, and before his own death he also lost both his sons and three of his grandchildren, the fourth living at Wells. He died the end of 1474, and was buried alongside his wife in the vault under the south transept of Redcliffe Church, Bristol.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 348; Dingley, *History from Marble* (Cambrian Society, 1867), p. 61.

[2] Archdeacon Norris, *St. Mary Redcliffe Church*, 1888.

1. Lady.

2 Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 5ft. 8in. long.

5. The figure is represented in the costume of a lady of the fifteenth century. She wears a straight flowing gown to the feet, with long, full sleeves turned back with a narrow, straight cuff, to show the sleeves of an under-garment. The bodice opens in front over a plain square-cut stomacher laced down the centre, and has a plain turned-back collar reaching to the waist. The gown is girdled by a rather broad belt, fastened in front with an ornamental buckle. Passed through the belt on the left side is a strap hanging straight down, decorated with a metal end and two raised Tudor roses; attached is a ring, but no sign of a purse or pomander.

The head is covered with the veil head-dress in full folds to the shoulders. On the feet are pointed shoes, just visible below the gown. The hands are in the attitude of prayer, and have rings on the second, third, and fourth fingers of each hand, placed above the second joints. The eyes are open and the features are very refined and peaceful.

6. The head rests on an oblong and a small, round, tasselled pillow, supported by two small angels with their hands on the top one.

7. The feet rest against two standing lap-dogs *vis-à-vis* (one mutilated), with collars.

8. A slab with an effigy is placed on the floor in a recess with canopied arch. The pointed arch springs from two cherubs, its outer edge being curved into three beautiful finials of oak leaves and acorns, with a border of the same. The inner edge is of plain cusps and the spandrels pierced with open work.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be Joanna, wife of William Canynges, junr., died 1460. The effigy at one time rested with that of the husband on an altar-tomb with inscriptions.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The garments are a little chipped and the head of the outer dog is broken.

12. Now fixed in a restored recess in the south aisle towards the east. See also p. 57.

13. No illustration is known.

14. In a good state of preservation.

15. For her life see p. 58.

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1. Ecclesiastical. Member of a collegiate foundation attired in choir dress.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Derbyshire marble.

4. More than life-size, 6 ft. 6 in. long.

5. The figure is dressed in a long, full cassock, reaching to the feet, high in the neck, and with wide sleeves, showing the loosely-laced sleeves of an under-garment. Over this is a loose, flowing surplice with long, ample sleeves, and above it, round the shoulders, an almuce or fur cape; the two long ends, rounded at the bottom, hang straight down the front, and the hood lies loosely round the neck. As the choir habit of a collegiate was similar to a canon's, all the almuce is made of ermine, and the tails are sewn round the edge and hang over the surplice.

The feet are covered with pointed shoes, and the hands are clasped in prayer. The head is bald, with a ring of short hair above the ears, and no tonsure is shown. The features are very marked: a long, aquiline nose; narrow, projecting chin, and high cheek bones; and since the effigy was carved during the lifetime, it is probably a portrait of the dean.

Similar almuce is shown on the brass of Thomas Butler, 1494, Great Haseley Church, Oxfordshire.

6. The head rests on two pillows, the top one square and tasselled, and underneath them is a clasped book of the Gospels. It is supported by two angels sitting down with their heads thrown back and holding the tassels.

7. The feet rest on the body of a bearded man, appar-

ently in great bodily pain. He is clothed in a jerkin, with jewelled girdle, tight hose, and twisted scarf round his luxuriant hair.

8. A plain raised stone tomb.

9. Inscription on a wooden board nailed against the wall over the effigy. Britton (*Essay on Redcliffe Church*, p. 30) thinks the first part was most likely translated from William Wycestre's *Itinerary*, and is of much later date than the death of Canynges.

The large tonnage given for some of the ships must be inaccurate.[1]

The inscription is as follows:—

> Mr. William Cannings ye Richest
> Marchant of ye towne of Bristow;
> Afterwards chosen 5 times Mayor of
> ye said towne: for ye good of ye Comon
> Wealth of ye same: Hee was in order
> of Priesthood 7 yeares and afterwards
> Deane of Westbury and died ye 7th of
> Novem 1474, which saide towne of
> Westbury, a Colledge (which his Canons)
> and ye said William did main-
> tain by space of 8 yeares 800
> handy crafts men, besides carpen-
> ters and masons, every day 100 men
> Besides King Edward ye 4th day of ye
> said William 3000 marks for his peace.
> To be had in 2470 tonnes of shiping.

these are ye names of his shiping with their burthens:—

	tonnes		tonnes
Ye Mary Canynges	400	Ye Mary Batt	220
Ye Mary Redclift	500	Ye Little Nicholas	140
Ye Mary & John	900	Ye Margarett	200
Ye Galliott	050	Ye Katherine of Boston	022
Ye Kathrine	140	A Ship in Ireland	100

[1] Latimer, *Hist. of Soc. Merch. Vent. of Bristol*, p. 58.

No age nor time can wear out well-woon fame,
the stones themselves a statly worke doth shew
from senceles graue we ground may men's good name
And noble minds by ventrous deeds we know.
A Lanterne cleere settes forth a candell light
A worthy act declares a worthy wight.
the Buildings rare that here you may behold,
to shrine his Bones deserve a tombe of gold.
The famous Fabricke that he here hath donne
Shines in its sphere as glorious as the Sonne.
What needs more words, ye future World he sought,
And set ye pompe and pride of this at nought:
heaven was his aime, let heaven be still his station,
that leaves such work for others imitation.

WILLIAM CANYNGES, jun., died 1475, aged 74.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The left arm of the old man under the feet is broken off. The nose and hands of the effigy have been restored.

12. Placed against the wall in the eastern corner of the south transept.

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 69; photograph in *The Little Red Book* of Bristol, 1900.

14. The effigy is very well preserved.

15. William Canynges was Dean of the Secular College of the Holy Trinity, established at Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol, from 1468 to 1475.

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1. Civilian.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Diminutive, 4ft. 10in. long.

5. The figure wears a long supertunic falling in folds to the feet, and confined at the waist by a narrow belt; it is high in the neck and has long, full sleeves. Over it is worn a rather long cloak, falling over the shoulders and open at

the sides. Attached to the waist belt on the left side is a large purse or gypciere. On the left shoulder rests the peculiar-shaped cap or turban of the period, with its straight folded scarf hanging down as long as the tunic.

The feet are covered with pointed shoes, and the hands are clasped in prayer. The hair is cut short across the forehead and clubbed in the fashion of the end of the fifteenth century. The face is clean shaven and the eyes are open.

A similar cap is shown on the effigy of William Canynges, 1474, in the same church.

6. The head rests on a square, tasselled pillow, and is supported on the right by a large sprawling angel with its hands on the pillow and the man's arm.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down with its front paws on a big bone.

8. A plain altar-tomb.

9. There is no inscription.

Probably A MERCHANT of Bristol, died about 1480.

The costume and cap are such as were commonly worn by civilians at the end of the fifteenth century. From its size and its rough carving the effigy seems to have been made by a local stone-worker, and would have been an attempt at a portrait.

It has been supposed to represent a purse-bearer or dependant of William Canynges, junr., but the reasons suggested seem inadequate. The single angel at the head is found elsewhere, and, like the dog with the bone at the feet, has no special significance.

10. The effigy shows no sign of paint.

11. The features are defaced, and the fingers and shoe-tops are worn away.

12. Placed against the wall in the west corner of the south transept.

13. Described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xviii., part ii., p. 261.

14. The effigy is very coarsely executed and the angel badly carved. The whole is in a very worn condition.

15. The fact that an effigy was erected to this merchant shows a man distinguished by some virtue, but nothing positive is known.

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1. Civilian.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size. Male 5 ft. 6 in. long; female 5 ft. 5 in. long.
5. The man is dressed as a merchant or burgess of the latter part of the fifteenth century. He wears a long, full supertunic edged with fur, high at the throat, reaching nearly to the ankles, and confined at the waist by a plain narrow belt. It has very full, large sleeves, turned back at the wrists to show the tight-fitting sleeves of an undergarment. Over this he wears a sleeveless mantle, also edged with fur, open at the sides, and falling in full plain folds, back and front, to the bottom of the gown. On the left side a strap is passed through the waist belt, and to it is attached a tasselled gypciere or bag.

The feet are covered with pointed shoes, and the hands are clasped in prayer. The hair is closely cropped, the eyes are open, and the face is clean shaven.

The lady is very simply dressed in the prevailing fashion of her day. She wears a long-waisted gown, which falls in graceful folds over the feet. Above the waist it is tight-fitting, and cut low to show a small straight stomacher. It has a wide, turned-back collar, the ends of which are concealed by the clasped hands. The gown is girdled by a narrow belt, buckled in front, with the short end hanging down straight. The sleeves are tight-fitting, extending to the wrists, with rather wide cuffs. Over the shoulders is a plain mantle, reaching to the feet. The head-dress consists of a veil, falling at the back of the head and confined over the forehead by a stiff band, with sides or lappets hiding the ears, and is probably the kind of cap worn under the steeple headdress. The shoes are hidden by the gown, but they

appear to be pointed. The hands are clasped in prayer, and the eyes are open.

Similar costume is shown on the effigy of Lady Katherine Berkeley, of Uley, 1387, St. Mark's Chapel, Bristol.

6. The male head rests on two plain pillows—the under one large and tasselled, the upper one small and set diagonally. Two angels, *vis-à-vis* and heads thrown back, rest their hands on the upper pillow.

Under the female head are two square, tasselled pillows, also supported by two small angels.

7. The male feet rest on a large dog, lying down, and those of the female on two "small hounds," lying back to back.

8. A double altar-tomb under a richly-sculptured Gothic canopy. Both tombs are of the same style, with only a thin stone partition dividing them. Beneath the canopy of the first division are two recumbent effigies, and affixed to the back of the second is an engraved brass, described by Mr. Cecil Davis in *Gloucestershire Brasses*, p. 69.

The tombs are flanked by clustered buttresses, the fronts being each divided into sixteen narrow trefoil-headed panels. The horizontal testoon has similar panels, decorated with five foliated arches and finials springing from winged angels bearing shields. It is surmounted by a richly-sculptured frieze of vine-leaves and fruit, with an open parapet of trefoil flowers. The vaulting is slightly arched, having square panels with double cusps, ending in five-leaved flowers. The back and sides are also panelled, and on the former is a shield charged with devices, but without tinctures.

The arms are: "(Sable) a chevron (ermine) between three trefoils slipt (argent)," Mede.

9. Inscription on a narrow strip of brass, which formerly extended the whole length of the tomb, along the front edge of the table-stone, but only a small portion remains:—

> "... pdict Thome Mede ac ter maioyl isti ville Bristoll q. obiit xx diemes Decebris A. Dm mccccLxxv qm anabs pper de' Amen."

The Mede arms are very roughly scratched at the end.

SIR THOMAS MEDE, died 1475, and his wife.

10. There are no signs of painting.

11. The garments are chipped, and the hands and features much worn.

12. Erected at the east end of the north aisle of the chancel.

13. Tomb illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, pl. 33.

14. The effigies are in a good state of preservation.

15. Sir Thomas Mede was a wealthy Bristol merchant, and held the office of bailiff in 1439 and of sheriff in 1453, at which time also he possessed "Mead Place," the family country residence in the parish of Wraxall, Somerset. Britton states that he was twice mayor of the city, but this is a mistake; it was his brother Philip who attained to that dignity.[1]

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, CITY.—Dedicated to All Saints.

1. Civilian.

2. Effigy, reclining on the right elbow.

3. White marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure is dressed as a country gentleman of the early part of the eighteenth century. He wears a cloth coat reaching to the thighs, cut square, and without a collar. It has buttons to the waist, but the lowest only is fastened, it being open from the throat to show within it a loose linen shirt and cravat with ends falling in front. The sleeves of the coat are long, with a wide open cuff, beyond which the shirt shows with a tight-buttoned band.

Over all is worn a mantle, falling loosely from the shoulders in ample folds over the arms and to the knees. Stockings reach above the knees, and are fastened below with a plain garter, and the high, square shoes are buckled across the instep. He wears a full, curled peruke falling on the shoulders.

The countenance, with open eyes, is full of expression

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 357; "Two Bristol Calendars," *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xix., p. 105.

and benign; it is a copy from a painting. The right hand is on the breast and the left rests over the left knee.

6. The right elbow leans on a very full, square cushion, adorned round the sides with fancy braid and large tassels.

7. There is nothing at the feet.

8. The slab with effigy rests on a high tomb of grey granite with an inlaid marble slab in front with an inscription. Above is a very lofty shallow canopy of white and black marble, with Ionic pillars supporting the decorated and pointed architrave, on the top of which recline two cherubs with the coat of arms and crest in the centre. The effigy was modelled and executed by Rysbrach from an original picture by Richardson. On the side of the tomb is scratched "Sidnell Bristol fecit 1729."

A long list of charities is inscribed on the centre panels of the canopy. The total amount is £40,745.

The arms are: "Argent, two dolphins hauriant respecting each other sable, conjoined by their necks with a chain pendent or," Colston.

Crest on wreath: "A dolphin embowed sable."

9. Inscription on front of tomb:—

"Edward The Son of William Colston Esq"
And Sarah His Wife Was Born In This City
Nov 2nd 1636 Dy'd At Mortlake In Surrey
Oct 11th 1721 And Lyes Buried Near This Monument."

Inscription on panels of canopy:—

THE PUBLIC CHARITIES AND BENEFACTIONS GIVEN AND FOUNDED BY EDWARD COLSTON, ESQ.:

In Bristol.

On St. Michael's Hill.

1691 An Almshouse for 12 men & 12 women,
the chief brother to receive 6 sh.
ye others 3 sh. per Week, besides Coal etc.
to a Chaplain £10 per an: The whole
to be paid by Fee Farm Rents on Estates
in Northumberland, Cumberland and
Durham and by some Houses & Lands
near the House. The charge about 8500

In King Street.

Six Saylors to be maintain'd in the Merchants Alms House by a Farm in Congersbury, Somerset. The Charge 600

In Temple Street.

1696 A School for 40 Boys to be cloath'd and taught, endow'd with an Annuity out of the Mannor of Tomarhear, Somt: an House & Garden for ye Master. Ye Charge 3000

In College Green.

1702 To the Rebuilding of Ye Boy's Hospital: 500
and for 6 Boys to be cloath'd, maintain'd, instructed & apprentic'd, a Farm of 70£ per an. in Congersbury: The Charge 1500

In St. Peter's Parish.

To the Mint Work House 200
and for placing out poor Children 200

On St. Augustine's Back.

1708 An Hospital for a Master, two Ushers and a Catechist and for one hundred Boys to be instructed, cloath'd, maintain'd and apprentic'd. The Charge about 10,000[1]

100£ per an. to be given for 12 years after his Death, either to those who have been apprentic'd from the Hospital on St. Augustine's Back or for the apprenticing of Boys from Temple School by 10£ each 1200

To the several Charity schools each 10£ per an. given for many years whilst He Liv'd & to be Continued for 12 years after His Death

[1] Books give this as £40,000

To Ye repair & beautifying of Churches

All Saints	250	St. Michael	50	
Cathedral	260	St. Stephen	50	
Clifton	50	Temple	160	
St. James	100	St. Thomas	50	
St. Mary Redcliff	100	St. Werburgh	160	—1230

For Reading Prayers at All Sts. every Monday & Tuesday morning 7£ per an. 140

For 12 Sermons at Newgate 6£ per an. 120

For 14 Sermons in Lent 20£ per an. 400

In London.

To St. Barthelomew's	2500	
To Christ Church	2000	
To St. Thomas Hospital	500	
To Bethlem	500	
to the New Work-house without Bishop's Gate	200	
To the Society for propagating the Gospel	300	
To the Company of Mercers	100	—6100

In Surrey.

At Sheen.

An Almshouse for six poor Men built & endow'd.

At Mortlake.

For the Education & Cloathing of 12 Boys & 12 Girls 45£ per an. 900

To 85 poor People at his Death 20 sh: each 85

In Devonshire.

Towards building a Church at Tiverton 50

IN LANCASHIRE.

Towards building a Church
at Manchester 20

To eighteen Charity Schools
in several parts of England
for many years of his Life
and to be continued for 12 Years
after his Death 90£ per annum
To the Augmentation
of sixty small Livings 6000

This great and pious Benefactor
was known to have done many
other excellent Charities and
what He did in Secret is believed
to be, not inferior, to what
He did in Publick.

EDWARD COLSTON, died 1721, aged 84.

10. There are no signs of painting.

11. The first finger and thumb of the left hand have been restored.

12. Placed against the east wall of the south aisle.

13. Tomb illustrated in Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 444, and in *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 103.

14. The monument is in excellent condition and well looked after.[1]

15. Edward Colston was the celebrated Bristol philanthropist. He was the eldest son of a merchant in Bristol, who traded largely with the Levant and Spain. At the age of 18 years he was apprenticed in London in 1654 to a mercer, taking up his freedom in 1673, and continuing to live there. He, however, succeeded to his father's business in Bristol and to his brother's, and retained them as a freeman of Bristol till about 1689, when he closed his trade there, after a dispute with the Corporation, and removed from

[1] A legacy of £100 was left by Robert Langley, Esq., of Waterhouse Wilts, to keep the monument in good repair.

London to Mortlake to spend the rest of his life. After that he devoted his attention to establishing in a suitable form his many charities. He was, however, Member of Parliament for Bristol from 1710 to 1713.[1]

ST. JAMES' CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. James the Great.

1. Civilian.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Doulting stone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The figure is of a slight and somewhat effeminate character, and is clothed in the dress of a civilian of the early part of the thirteenth century. He wears a long, plain garment, cut low at the neck and reaching to the ankles. It hangs in plain folds from a little above the waist, but there is no sign of fastening. Rather full sleeves reach to the elbows, whilst the sleeves of an under-garment continue to the wrist. The gown is confined at the waist by a plain, narrow belt, buckled in front, with a loose end hanging down perpendicularly to within two inches of the feet. Over the shoulders and arms, reaching behind nearly to the feet, is worn a long, straight mantle, secured by a narrow band passing obliquely over the breast. The right hand obscures the actual mode of fastening. On the top edge of the gown is a large, ornamented brooch or fermail. The feet are covered with tight-fitting stockings; the hair is long and wavy over the ears and forehead; the eyes are open, and there are slight traces of a beard and moustache. The right hand is placed on the breast, and the left gathers up the folds of the mantle. On the third finger of the left hand is a plain ring.
6. The head rests on a small, flat pillow.
7. The feet rest against two small blocks of stone. It is not clear if they are parts of a mutilated animal.
8. The effigy is placed on a slab on a low, plain altar-

[1] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, p. 409.

tomb within a plain arched recess. Against the back of the recess is a modern brass tablet with an inscription, and above a separate wooden shield, emblazoned, "Gules three clarions 2 and 1 or."

That the charges were really clarions or Pan-pipes seems proved by the arms on a tablet on the north wall of Clapton Church, Somerset, where the pipe mouthpiece is distinctly sculptured. This coat is similar to the above, with the difference of a chevron, and is stated by Mr. F. Were to have belonged to the Arthurs of Clapton, who held under the Honour of Gloucester, and are thus shown to be connected with some of the family of Lord de Grenville.

The clarions have been at times called, in error, Lance-rests.

9. Inscription on brass plate at back of recess:—

"Within this tomb was interred
Robert, son of King Henry I.,
Earl or Consul of Gloucester,
Lord of Bristow,
And Builder of its Castle,
The pious & munificent
Founder of this Church
And also the Priory of St. James.
He died XXXI Oct: A.D. MCXLVII
Ætatis suæ LVII or LVIII."

Supposed to be RICHARD DE GRENVILLE, died 1240.

It seems certain that the above inscription, ascribing the figure to Robert, Consul of Gloucester, was placed above the tomb under a misapprehension, and there is little doubt the effigy represents Richard de Grenville, who is known to have been buried in the church. After full investigation, Mr. Albert Hartshorne states he has no doubt whatever that this is correct, and that the date of the effigy is about 1230–40. He bases his conclusion on the costume, and more particularly upon the character of the figure, there being no mistaking it to be of the time named. He further points out

there is a marked resemblance between this figure and those fixed on the north-west corner of the west façade of Wells Cathedral, placed there at the same period; also, that the effigy covering the heart of Cœur de Lion (died 1199) in Rouen Cathedral is much such another effigy as the present one.

It is interesting to note that the figure is of Doulting stone, from the same quarries in Somerset whence were taken the materials for the west front of Wells Cathedral, so that it may be conjectured the effigy was carved—perhaps during Richard de Grenville's lifetime—by some of the artists who made the city of Wells so renowned about that time for their splendid figure work. If it should be found that Richard de Grenville was in some way connected with Wells this conjecture would become even more assured.

The effigy was probably covered up by the new pews when the south aisle was built,[1] which would have been about 1700.[2] It was rediscovered in 1818, when the pews were removed, and was then placed in its present position.

With regard to the coat of arms mentioned above, *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 42, states they were probably cut on the wooden shield about 1700. Arms with clarions are on the seal of Neath Abbey, founded in 1129 by Richard de Grenville, and they are in use in later centuries and down to the present time in the Grenville family.

The source of the error which led to the effigy being ascribed to Robert of Gloucester on the modern brass tablet can only be a matter of conjecture. When the effigy was rediscovered in 1818 the authorities of the church undoubtedly ascribed it to Robert of Gloucester, and probably did so on the authority of an eighteenth-century manuscript quoted by Barrett, which is the earliest record known, and supposes the tomb to belong to the earl.

Further weight may have been given in later years to this erroneous idea from similar arms with clarions being

[1] Sealy, *Archæological Magazine*, p. 18.

[2] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 179.

emblazoned on the surcoat of a portrait of the earl in a north-east window of Tewkesbury Abbey of the fourteenth century; but it has been suggested they were assigned to him there at a later date, as the earliest arms of the family known are those on the seal of his son William, being a lion statant guardant and not clarions.

Leland, in *Itinerary*, vol. vii., p. 91, states that Robert, Consul of Gloucester, was "buryed in the quiere in the middle of it in a sepulchre of grey marble set upon six pillars of small hethe," of which it may be observed the "quiere" would be outside the present church, and that the description of the tomb is entirely inapplicable to one bearing an effigy.

Remarks on the effigy will be found in *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxv. (1869), pp. 37, 38, and *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 388.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The figure and features are very much worn, but only slightly mutilated. It is stated underneath the inscription:

This tomb was repaired A.D. MDCCCXIX. William Watson Peter Fry Churchwardens.

12. Placed under an arched recess in the east end of the south aisle. The effigy was discovered in 1818 hidden behind high pews near the belfry door, and was removed to its present position.

13. Illustrated in Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

14. The figure is well preserved.

15. Richard de Grenville was a descendant of an earlier Richard de Grenville, who was an uncle of Mabel, the daughter of Robert FitzHamon and wife of Robert the Earl.

He gave largely of his lands to the mother church of Tewkesbury, and was buried in 1240 in St. James' Church, Bristol.[1]

[1] *Annales de Theokesberia*, pp. 107, 108, 118 and 138.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Wife and daughter.
2. Three kneeling effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive, about two-thirds life-size.
5. The male figure wears a complete suit of plate armour without engraving. The body is encased in a doublet of plate having a projecting ridge or tapul, with short tassets or jointed tuilles strapped across padded trunk hose. The pauldrons are small, the coudes pointed, and the hinged vambraces are covered at the wrists by small cuffs. The thighs are protected by cuisses with markings imitating joints, strapped over plain hose, the knees by blunt genouillères, and the legs by hinged jambs, which meet broad-toed solerets and rowel spurs. About the throat is a gorget resembling a ruff. Round the waist is a narrow belt, buckled in front; hooked to it on the right side is a band, also buckled in front and fitted straight across the tassets, carrying a sword.

All parts of the armour have scalloped edges, with ornamentation formed by the rivets. The hair is closely cropped, with a pointed beard and long moustache. The hands are clasped in prayer, the eyes are open, and the face is full of expression.

The costume of the wife is that worn at the end of the sixteenth century. She has a moderate farthingale under a full, padded gown, which reaches to the feet and is thrown open to show a richly-embroidered kirtle. The bodice is tight-fitting, with numerous pleats over the whalebone stays, with a long-pointed stomacher closely buttoned down the front, and round the waist is a narrow girdle, tied in a bow-and-end at the extremity of the stomacher. The long, plain sleeves are padded, and have small, turn-back cuffs.

Over the shoulders, falling in full folds, is a small cloak with a square yoke, partly concealed by a close ruff round the neck. The hair is brushed in a roll from the forehead, and dressed with the Paris hood, a coronal of beads, and

straight veil reaching nearly to the waist. The hands are clasped in prayer, the eyes are open, and the face is expressive and marked with wrinkles.

Similar costume is shown on the brass of Aphia Hawkins, 1605, Fordwich Church, Kent.

The costume of the daughter is like the mother's; the farthingale, however, is more pronounced, the kirtle plain, and the stomacher without buttons. The veil is turned up over the hood and coronal, small curls are on the forehead, and the face has a very youthful appearance.

6.

7. The figures are kneeling on full, square cushions, ornamented with an embossed pattern and tassels at the corners. A double reading-desk, covered with a fringed cloth, separates the male and female figures. Two open books are on it.

8. A mural tomb, with three kneeling effigies, placed in a narrow, straight recess raised on a stylobate or basement beneath a Corinthian canopy. On the back is a narrow, oblong tablet in an ornamented frame, with an inscription. The lower part of the tomb is plain, but in the panels to right and left are shields with coats of arms, and the whole canopy is surmounted by an escutcheon and crest on an esquire's helmet with mantling and wreath.

Arms on the escutcheon :—

Quarterly 1st and 4th: "Or, in fess France and England quarterly within bordure compony argent and azure," SOMERSET.

2nd: "Party per pale azure and gules three lions rampant 2.1. or," HERBERT.

3rd: "Argent a fess and canton gules," WOODVILLE.

Dexter shield :—

Quarterly 1st and 4th: SOMERSET.

2nd: HERBERT.

3rd: WOODVILLE [impaling] "Azure, on a fess between three bugle-horns sinisterways stringed argent, a hemp-hackle gules," BRAYNE.

Sinister shield: Arms of Brayne, Brayne.

Crest: "A panther passant gardant." (Should be argent spotted and incensed proper.)

9. Inscription on the tablet at the back:—

"Sir Charles Somerset, Knight, the fifth sone of the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of Worcester and Standard Bearer unto Her Majties Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, who married Eme, widow to Giles Morgan, of Newport Esq: daughter and co-heyre to Henry Brayne, Esq: by whom he had one sole daughter, first married to Ratclyf Gerrard Esq: and afterward to Edward Fox Esq: He deceased the 11th day of March, Anno Dom 1598, being of the age of 64 years, who lieth here entombed, with his wife Eme, who departed Anno Dom 1590."

Latin inscription on a slab beneath the male figure:—

"Memorie et pietati sacrum
Carolus hoc parvo, tegitur sub marmore magnus
Corpore procero, et prelustri stemmate Magnus
Sed eama virtute, fide (ut fas credere) Maior
Per zelum cælum scandens, fit Maximus Adde
Principis ut vivens fuerat vexillifer iste
Principis ut moriens Christi vexillifer iste."

TRANSLATION.

"Sacred to the memory and piety of a great man, Charles, who lies interred beneath this small monument. He was great both on account of his fine form and illustrious family. But he was greater still (we may believe) for his fame, virtue and honour. And greatest did he become when he climbed with ardent desire to Heaven. In addition to this, while he lived he was a Standard Bearer to the King, and when he died a standard bearer to Christ his King."[1]

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 180.

English inscription on a slab beneath the female figure :—

"My body earth, my breath was borrowed ayre,
My dated lease expired yeares of strife,
My soule, with stampe of God, temple of praier,
Dissolv'd by death mounteth to glorious life;
Life was but lent conditionall to dye,
Death made the period of mortalitye,
And gave me entrance to æternitye."

SIR CHARLES SOMERSET, died 1598, aged 64.

EME, his wife, died 1590.

ELIZABETH, their only daughter, died about 1609.

10. The effigies are painted black, with all ornamentations of the armour and gowns gilded; the features flesh-coloured, and the cushions red with gilt scrollwork.

The tomb is painted in imitation of marble, the Corinthian capitals being gilded.

11. The sword is broken off; the hands, spurs, and edges of the armour are mutilated, and the head-dress of the daughter is chipped. The hands have been restored.

12. Placed at the east end of the north aisle.

13. Described in *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 44.

14. The effigies are in fair preservation, but neglected.

15. Little is known of the history of Sir Charles Somerset beyond what is related of him in his epitaph, which shows that he was a younger son of Henry, Earl of Worcester, having been born in 1534. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth between 1570 and 1585. His wife, Lady Eme, was the daughter of Henry Brayne, of St. James', Bristol, from whom, through the death of her brother Robert, in 1570 she inherited the property at Staunton, in the Forest of Dean, and Tewkesbury Abbey. They had one daughter, Elizabeth, who succeeded to the above property. She was twice married, her second husband, Edward Fox, being knighted in 1603.[1]

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol vii., pp. 237 and 243.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

1. Civilian. Mayor, but not in gown of office.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life size, 6 ft. long.
5. He wears the costume of a franklen or country gentleman at the end of the fourteenth century. A long, full tunic closely buttoned in front reaches to the feet, the sleeves being long and padded, having ribbed under-sleeves, close fitting and fastened with numerous buttons, so as to form a kind of mitten over each hand. A thrown-back hood is buttoned round the neck, and an inscribed baldrick hangs over both shoulders, with an analace in a scabbard ornamented with bands suspended from the centre.

Part of the English inscription on baldrick, as deciphered by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., is: "Hys sowle and save."

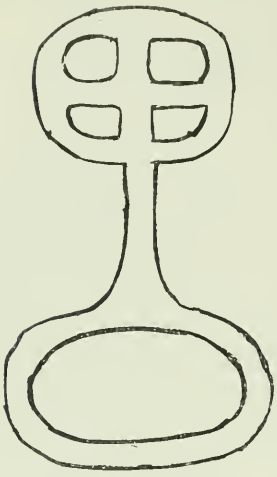
The feet are apparently covered with plain shoes, but only the toes are visible. The hair is parted in front, and arranged in luxuriant curls round the ears; and he has a small moustache and short, forked beard of the period. The eyes are open, and the expression is placid. The hands are folded in prayer and raised from the body.

Similar costume is shown on the effigy of Walter Tyddestille, 1385, St. Stephen's Church, Bristol.

6. The head rests on pillows, the top one set diagonally and the corner tasselled. It is supported on either side by a large angel, looking upwards, with hands resting on the top pillow.
7. The feet rest on a dog with a long tail and collar.
8. A high tomb with recumbent effigy placed within a depressed and shallow recess, with spandrels bearing the monogram "W. F."

The front, below the soffit of leaves, has seven square panals without cusps, each containing a shield charged with devices, except one, which is only painted.

A small shield above the figure carries a merchant's mark, which did not belong to the Frampton family, as proved by Mr. A. E. Hudd's examination of seals in the possession of the church.



MERCHANT MARK (UNIDENTIFIED), St. John's Church, Bristol.

The arms are:—

On 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th shield: "Argent a chevron between three lion's gambs erect erased within bordure, engrailed gules," FRAMPTON.

On 2nd shield: "Gules a chevron between nine crosses botonny (or may be foils), 4.2.1.2., or," (?).

On 4th shield: "Sable, three fusils in fess conjoined or," (?).

On 6th shield: "Sable, a dolphin hauriant or," (?).

The last three have not been identified in spite of the good condition of the charges, chiefly owing to the poor pedigree known.

9. The inscription on edge of slab is:

"Hic Jacet Gualterus Frampton Hujus Ecclesiæ Fundator qui Obiit Ano Dni MCCCLXXXVIII."

WALTER FRAMPTON, died 1388.

10. The effigy and tomb are now painted buff, the recess pale green, and the spandrels claret with gold letters.

11. The right hand of outer angel and left arm of inner one are broken off. The tomb has been covered with many coats of paint.

12. Placed in a recess in the north wall of the chancel. It was originally in the centre of the building.[1]

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, p. 208.

in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xviii., part ii., p. 259. Described in Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 246.

14. The effigy is in a good state of preservation.

15. Walter Frampton was a "noble merchant" and the second of four men bearing this family name. He was Mayor of Bristol in 1357, the year of his father's death, and in 1365 and 1374, and was a "Parliament man" for the city in 1362 and 1379. His father was buried in an older church of St. John's, and this may have led the son to become the founder and rebuilder of the present edifice, in which he also endowed a chantry. An incised tomb in the crypt, by some ascribed to Frampton's parents, must be of a later period, because such tombs were erected only after the fifteenth century.[1]

ST. JOHN BAPTIST CHURCH—in the Crypt dedicated to the Holy Cross.

1. Civilian, in gown of office.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Derbyshire alabaster.
4. Diminutive. Male, 5 ft. long; female, 4 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The male costume is that worn by a merchant in the middle of the sixteenth century. It consists of a tunic with full sleeves ending at the wrists in little ruffles. It has a small, upright collar, open and turned back in front, showing the edge of a vest beneath. A supertunic reaching to the feet is over this, cut low round the neck and unfastened at the bottom. It has large sleeves closed to the elbows and hanging open thence down each side as far as the knees. Covering most of the dress is the alderman's gown nearly to the feet, plain and sleeveless, open down the sides and fastened on the right shoulder by three buttons in the form

[1] *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 148; Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 63.

of roses. The feet (broken) are covered with square-toed shoes, low and without heels. The head is bare, with thick hair cut across the forehead and hanging long behind. The face is clean shaven and the eyes open. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

The female costume is of the same period, and consists of a tight-bodiced gown or surcote, loose below the waist and caught up in front to display a full kirtle to the feet. It is cut square at the neck to show a pleated partlet, fastened with four small buttons and having an ornamented band. The sleeves are tucked lengthways and cut open with slashs on the outside to show through them the puffs of an undersleeve and its ruffles. Round the waist is a folded scarf, tied on the left hip in a bow-and-end; through it are looped by cords on the right side a penner and a small square inkhorn. Over the shoulders is thrown a long mantle, falling in folds to the feet. It is held together across the breast by cords passing through eyelet holes and meeting in a lozenge-shaped fermail in the centre, the holes being surrounded with decorative work.

On the head is worn a pedimental head-dress with plain lappets pinned up at the sides. It is edged with a row of small pearls and shows the hair beneath. The hands are folded in prayer.

Similar dress is shown on the effigy of Margaret Talbot, 1550, Bromsgrove Church, Worcestershire; and of Mary Lady Parr, 1546, Horton, Northamptonshire. Similar penner and inkhorn are shown on statue of Queen of Sheba, west front of Wells Cathedral.

6. Both heads rest on tasselled pillows, the under ones square, the upper oblong. They are supported by two small angels, lying somewhat under the top pillows with their hands resting on them.

7. The feet of both figures rest on animals too mutilated to be identified. Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 248) thinks they represent dolphins, but they appear to be boars.

8. An altar-tomb with recumbent effigies. In the middle

of the front is a plain square slab, dividing a row of five boys in very full tunics and mantles and kneeling on cushions before a lectern from a similar row of six girls, all too mutilated to be described. The sides of the tomb are divided in early Renaissance style into two panels, each containing the figure of an angel with outstretched wings, holding a shield without heraldic device.

9. There is no inscription.

A merchant and his wife.

The figures are suggested to be members of the Rowley family, because of Chatterton's forgeries, or they may be relatives of Walter Frampton (died 1388), who is buried in this church; but there are no signs by which they can be identified.[1]

10. The effigies, except the faces, are covered with several coats of paint, as customary with alabaster figures, the uppermost colour being dull Indian red. The tomb is not painted.

11. The monument generally is much mutilated, and there are no traces of restoration.

On the male figure the hands are missing, whilst the feet and animals, with the heads of the angels, are broken.

On the female the tips of the fingers, the feet, with the heads and shoulders of the angels, are missing, and the animal at the feet broken.

12. Placed against the south-east wall of the crypt.

13. Tomb illustrated in *Churches of Bristol* (1843), p. 132.

14. The tomb is very neglected, and the slab on which the effigies rest is worn away in the centre. The details of the costumes are well executed.

15. They appear to be effigies of a Bristol merchant, who probably held the office of sheriff, and of his wife.

---

1. Civilian.

   Two ladies.

2. Incised recumbent figures.

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 248.

3. Derbyshire alabaster slab on a stone tomb.

4. Diminutive, 4 ft. 3 in. long.

5. The male figure is dressed as a merchant, in a full tunic reaching to the feet, with loose sleeves, and edged with a narrow border of fur. It is open at the throat, showing an under-garment, and has a turned-down collar of fur. The waist is confined by a girdle, from which hangs in front a large, square pouch or gypciere. The feet are covered with rather pointed shoes, and the hands are clasped in prayer on the breast. The hair falls luxuriantly on the shoulders, and is cut low on the forehead; there is a small moustache.

The female figures are dressed alike. They wear a tight-fitting gown, spreading into ample folds below the waist and completely covering the feet. A jewel-studded girdle is buckled across the hips on the left side, and the end hangs down straight to the feet. The head-dress is the pedimental, with long lappets reaching below the shoulders. The hands are clasped in prayer.

Similar female costume is shown on the effigy of Dorothea Peckham, 1512, Wrotham, Kent.

At their feet are the incised figures of six children, about ten inches high, now nearly obliterated.

6.

7. The male feet rest on a hound, lying down open-mouthed, and a collar round its neck.

MERCHANT MARK (UNIDENTIFIED).
St. John's Crypt, Bristol.

The feet of the left-hand female are alone visible, and they seemingly rest on a dog with a long tail.

8. A low altar-tomb, within a square recess, with incised figures of a man between two women on the slab. The front is divided into eight arched and bi-cusped panels, each

containing a shield without heraldic devices. The canopy consists of a highly-wrought Tudor arch, the spandrels being adorned with foliage and a shield charged with a merchant's mark. The same mark is incised on either side of the male head.

A Merchant, his two wives and children.

9. Inscription at the feet of the figures has become illegible through damp and injury, so that identity is unknown.

It must be a family of the early sixteenth century, from the costumes, and because incised monuments were first introduced about that date.

10. The slab has been covered with black paint.

11. The slab and tomb are very much chipped. The figures are becoming erased, especially the female ones. The lower part of the outside figure is obliterated.

12. Placed in a recess on the south-west side of the crypt.

13. No illustration known.

14. The canopy is in very fair condition, but neglected. The figures are very roughly incised.

15. Figures not identified.

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Nicholas.

1. Civilian. Mayor in robe of office.

2. Half-recumbent effigy, right arm resting on a cushion.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 10 in. long.

5. The figure wears a doublet closely buttoned to the waist with full, padded sleeves, ending in small ruffles, and is girded with a narrow ribbon tied in a bow-and-end in front. The breeches are also padded, and gathered into a band above the knees. The tight hose, kept in position by garters, are hardly visible, because most of the body is covered by a mayor's cloak, open in front and edged with a broad band of fur. The sleeves are short, reaching to the elbows, puffed

high on the shoulders and edged with fur, and from them fall long, pendent ones.

At the neck is a full, turned-down ruff, and the feet are covered with thick-soled boots. The hair is short and curly, with a square beard and long moustache. On the cheek is a deep cut. The eyes are open and the expression is benign.

The right hand holds his book, the first finger being within it, and the left lightly clasps a pair of alderman's gloves.

Similar costume on effigy of John Barker, 1606, St. Werburgh's Church, Bristol.

6. The right arm rests on a large, tasselled cushion.

7. The feet rest on the slab only.

8. A high altar-tomb with effigy under a lofty, arched canopy, with plain stone background and pinnacles at the sides. The front is divided into two panels, the inscription being erased. The arch of the canopy is panelled and contains foliated rosettes, and beneath the pinnacles are decorated pilasters. The whole is surmounted by a coat of arms and crest on a wreath: "Azure, in base a sea proper, on the last a ship of three masts in full sail or, sails and rigging argent, in the dexter chief a sun in splendour, in the sinister an estoile of the third, on a chief of the fourth a cross gules charged with a lion of England," COMPANY OF SPANISH MERCHANTS.

Crest on wreath, argent and gules: "Two arms embowed proper, holding in the hands a globe or charged with cross bands."

Mr. F. Were kindly points out that Papworth gives this coat somewhat differently. He adds a dolphin's head appearing in the sea and a cross gules on each sail. Mr. Were also points out that to the crest Burke's *Armory* adds clouds and omits the charges of cross bands on the globe, and he suggests that if they are correctly placed there, they may represent the equator and the lines of latitude and longitude. The importance of the above Spanish Company is further shown by R. Symonds (*Diary*, Cambrian Society,

p. 72), where he records that in 1644 he saw the monument of another member, Rashleigh by name, of the same Spanish Company at Fowey, Cornwall.

The monument was erected in 1741 in the crypt over the place of burial. The arms then inscribed on the shield were thought to be those of Whitson,[1] but later investigation shows them to be those of the Wynter family, with whom it is possible that he was connected by marriage.

These arms remained till the end of 1901, when they were replaced by those given above.

Meanwhile, in 1821, through the energy of Alderman Daniel, a copy of the effigy with the arms, under a very elegant canopy in the Perpendicular English style, was designed by Mr. T. Clark and placed in the porch under the tower of St. Nicholas Church. This monument was renovated in 1901 at the expense of the Bristol Charity Trustees, and the arms of the Spanish Company were inserted on it and on the monument in the crypt.

9. Inscription on the front of tomb, now erased but reproduced upon the modern monument :—

"1741.
In memorie of that greate benefactour
of this Citie, John Whitson, Merchant
Twice Mayor & Alderman and four times
Member of Parliament of this Citie.
Who died in the 72 yeare of his Age
A.D. 1629.
A worthie pattern to all that come after him."

John Whitson, died 1629, aged 72.

10. The gown shows traces of being at one time painted red.

11. The dress is a little chipped. The monument was renovated in 1893 at the time of the restoration of the crypt.

12. Placed against the west wall of the north aisle of

[1] See *Bristol : Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 286.

the crypt, which was at one time used as a chapel of the Fraternity of the Holy Ghost.

13. There is no illustration known.

14. The effigy is in very good preservation.

15. Alderman John Whitson was born about 1554 at Clearwell in the Forest of Dean, and was apprenticed in Bristol to Nicholas Cutt, a wine merchant. Later, he married the wealthy young widow of his master, which led to his becoming the greatest merchant in the city. He was twice mayor and four times member of Parliament, living in costly style, and trading largely abroad. He was likewise sheriff and twice master of the Merchant Venturers. Dying in 1629 without living issue, he left to the Corporation much property for charity, chief of which was a hospital to bring up poor girls, now called the "Red Maids School." The year before his death an attempt was made to murder him by stabbing him in the cheek by a man named Callowhill. The alderman had given him offence in consequence of an award he had decided against him in some dispute. This event is commemorated by the scar shown on the effigy. The book he holds represents *The Aged Christian's Farewell to the World*, of which he was the author. Amidst much pageantry he was buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas Church, where he lies with his three wives and one daughter.[1]

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Peter.

1. Lady.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The lady is attired in the costume of the time of James I. (1603-25). She wears a very full skirt, reaching to the feet, over a moderate farthingale, and thrown open to show a kilted kirtle, both being edged with fur. The bodice,

[1] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, p. 103; *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 181.

reaching only to the waist, is tight fitting and open in front with a turnback collar, to show a plain stomacher buttoned down the centre. The waist is girdled by a folded band, knotted in front, the ends hanging down straight and rounded off with metal ornaments. The long plain sleeves are very full, ending in small ruffles; and, in addition, long, pendent sleeves reach below the knees, cut up on the shoulders with fur trimming, and ornamented below with rosettes and strappings of ribbons. At the neck is a round, full ruff, and beneath it a double chain necklace and large pendant set with jewels.

On the head she wears the Paris hood with a coronal of raised ornaments across it on top, with a straight veil to the shoulders. The hair is padded, and rolled high off the forehead, having upon it above the ears on either side a round jewel.

The feet are covered with pointed shoes, and the hands are clasped in prayer.

6. The head rests on two very full, oblong cushions, with narrow cord and tassels.

7. The feet rest against a prostate lion, with heavy mane and twisted tail.

8. The tomb is a handsome specimen of the monumental art of the seventeenth century. The effigy lies on a richly-carved sarcophagus within a spacious Gothic arched canopy, which is supported by six fluted pillars from the ground. The figures, foliage and tracery upon the spandrels and frieze are elaborately finished, as well as the sculptured work within the square panel above, bearing the escutcheon and crest.

Higher is a semi-circular arch with a man's bust in relief, and on top is a draped figure about 18 in. high, with four similar ones standing at intervals on the frieze. The vault is plain, but in its centre is placed a large escutcheon; and against the back an inscribed tablet in a handsome sculptured frame. Thirteen small shields are arranged on the spandrels, frieze and capitals, and a lozenge on the left side.

The rounded base of the sarcophagus is ornamented with a pattern of escallop shells, and above are richly-carved borders of leaves of oak and vine with the fruits.

At the restoration of the monument in 1901 the charges on the escutcheons and shields were found to be engraved, and the architect states the tinctures were renewed in exact accord with those found beneath the whitewash, which were probably placed there at the previous restoring of the tomb in 1750.

The tinctures do not agree with those belonging to the families supposed to be quartered, but the following are the ones now on the monument:—

Centre escutcheon. Seventeen quarterings in four rows, of which the first two are five each and the others four and three respectively. 1: "Argent, on a chevron azure three garbs or," CRADOCK NEWTON. 2: "Azure, a chevron between three roses, seeded and barbed or," ? RHODRI MAWR. 3: "Or, a lion rampant sable," ? WELSH COAT. 4: "Azure, a lion rampant or," ? WELSH COAT. 5: "Argent, a lion rampant gules," ? WELSH COAT. 6: "Azure, two lions passant guardant or," ? DE LA MARE. 7: "Ermine, three fusils in fess sable," SHERBORNE. 8: "Or, an eagle displayed azure," ? quartering of SHERBORNE. 9: "Or, four fusils in fess sable, over all a bend gules," ? PENNINGTON. 10: "Gules, a lion rampant or," (?). 11: "Azure, a chevron ermine between three escallops argent," ? CHEDDER. 12: "Gules, a bend between six fleurs-de-lys or," ? HAMPTON. 13: "Ermine, a fess gules," BITTON. 14: "Gules, a bend between six crosses croslet or," FURNEAULX. 15: "Azure, on a chevron between three holly trees or, an eagle displayed of the first," ? CANDECOT. 16: "Paly of six or and gules," ? GOURNEY. 17: "Gules,a saltire humetty fleury at the ends or," (?).

Escutcheon on vault. Seventeen quarterings, as above. Impaling, quarterly 1st and 4th: "Gules, two bars or, in chief three escallops azure," ? CLARKE. 2nd and 3rd: "Gules, three arrows palewise, points downwards or," ? CLARKE.

Eleven small shields. 1: Rhodri Mawr (?). 2: Gourney (?). 3: Furneaulx. 4: Harptree (?). 5: Sherborne. 6: Pennington (?). 7: Chedder (?). 8: De la Mere (?). 9: Quartering of Sherborne. 10: Cradock Newton. 11: Furneaulx.

Two shields on spandrels. Quarterly, 1st and 4th: "Gules, two bars or between six escallops, 3 and 3 azure." ? Variation of Clarke. 2nd and 3rd: "Gules, three arrows palewise points downwards or."

Lozenge: ? Clarke.

Crest: On an esquire's helmet with wreath and mantling. "Moorish king proper crowned or, kneeling and delivering up his sword of the first, hilted of the second."

Motto on one escutcheon: "Virtus qua cuque re emetur parvo emetur."

9. Modern inscription on back of canopy:—

"This monument was erected to the Memory of a Maiden Lady, an ancestor of the Family of the Newtons of Barrs Court in the County of Gloucester about 250 years since."

Supposed to be Antholin Newton, died after 1600.

The arms show she was the widow of a Newton connected with the Barr's Court family, and belonged herself to the Clarkes of Wells, Somerset. The only widow known to correspond to these conditions is Antholin, daughter and heir of Henry Clarke of Wells, married to John Newton of Harptree, Soms., younger brother of Sir Henry Newton of Barr's Court (died 1599).[1]

10. The entire monument has been in 1901 thoroughly cleaned and redecorated. On the effigy the fur edging and some ribbons have been gilded, as well as some ornaments on the canopy. Both the escutcheons and the separate shields (except two) have been painted in doubtful heraldry, as mentioned above. The rest of the stone surface is quite clean. Formerly there were traces of gilding beneath numerous coats of whitewash.

[1] *Arch. Inst. of Great Britain*, 1851, p. 239.

11. The nose, garments and ruff are slightly chipped. Below the inscription it is stated :—

"Repaired by Mrs. Archer, sister of the late Sir Michael Newton, 1750, and again renovated by the Vestry of St. Peter's, 1901."

12. Placed on the floor and against the wall at the east end of the south aisle.

13. No illustration is known.

14. In excellent condition.

15. No details of the life of Antholin Newton are known beyond what is stated about her in No. 9.

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1. Civilian. Alderman in robe of office.
   Lady.
2. Kneeling effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.

5. The male figure wears his civic cloak over a doublet, the sleeves of which only are visible. They are fastened with buttons and end in small ruffles. The cloak is long, and falls in very full folds from a square-cut collar on the shoulders. Two broad lappets of fur extend down the whole length, back and front, and two plain, narrow lappets rest on them from the shoulders to the waist. The sleeves are very full, reaching to the elbow, and edged with fur, and, in addition, outside these, narrow pendent ones, also edged with fur, hang to the feet. He wears a very full, round ruff. The hair is straight and closely cropped, with a long beard and heavy moustache. The hands are clasped in prayer.

The wife wears a very full skirt over a modified farthingale. Her tight-fitting bodice, having small epaulets, is encircled at the waist by a narrow, folded belt, knotted at the bottom of a plain and pointed stomacher. The sleeves are small, but full, with deep cuffs. From a square-cut collar on the shoulders hangs a full mantle to the feet, surmounted by a very large, upstanding ruff, fastened in front with bow-

and-end. The head-dress is the Paris hood without a veil, showing the hair rolled high off the forehead and little curls on the temples. The cap is edged with a jewelled band. The hands are clasped in prayer.

6.

7. Both figures are kneeling *vis-à-vis* on large, square cushions, corded and tasselled, and between them is placed a substantial double reading-desk with open books and a vase on the centre.

8. A costly monument, 14 ft. high and 12 ft. long, with two kneeling effigies occupying two-thirds of the space under a canopy, supported by four Corinthian columns. The high basement is 5 ft. broad, and divided by pilasters into two rows of three panels each. The upper panels bear inscriptions, and the lower ones merchant's mark and guild badges. Above the canopy and heavy entablature are the arms and crest of the Bristol Merchant Venturers' Guild; also three figures, 2 ft. high, emblematic of Faith and Charity (two alike). Much of the surface is ornamented with rosettes, cherub's heads, &c. The third space beneath the canopy, behind the male figure, is filled in with masonry, and on its front and side surfaces are inscriptions concerning descendants of the family buried between 1637 and 1743.

MERCHANT MARK OF ROBERT ALDWORTH,
St. Peter's Church, Bristol.

The Merchant Venturers' arms are:—"Barry wavy of eight, argent and azure, on a bend or, a dragon passant wings addorsed and tail extended vert, on a chief gules a lion passant guardant of the third between two bezants. Sup-

porters: Dexter—Mermaid in the sea all proper crined or, the fins in the middle of the body, supporting with her dexter hand an anchor of the second, cabled proper, and in her sinister hand a mirror of the first. Sinister—A winged satyr proper standing on a mount, vert, winged and legged or, holding in his sinister hand a scythe, blade in base proper."

Crest: "On an esquire's helmet with mantling out of ducal coronet, a mainmast or, with pennon flying argent charged with a cross gules; on round top a man in armour proper, in his dexter arm a truncheon, his sinister supporting a curved shield of the second; issuing from the round top six pikes, three on each side of the man, bendways of the first, the rigging downwards sable."

Merchant mark: "Initials entwined, forming the whole name Aldworth."

Guild badges: "Three tuns, for trader in rum; five sugar loaves, for sugar boiler."

9. Latin inscription on central panel of basement:—

"Cum sileat illa statua venerandi senis
Spectator esto Lector et quis sit, cape
Mercator euge nobilis varij maris
Fœlix viator, gloriam patriæ suæ
Et sublevamen pauperum quærens magis,
Quam census auctos aggeres sitiens sui,
Eoque factus ditior nutu Dei,
Prætor Præitor urbis eximius fide
Et honore plenus; serviens Christo et Deo
Ecclesia Anglum (tota quæ cordi fuit)
Ut docuit. Ejus pace finivit diem
Æterna in astris pace nunc gaudens Dei.
AEGEL."

TRANSLATION.

"Although this statue of the venerable man is silent
Learn, O Reader and Beholder who he was,
A famous merchant, a successful voyager through

Many seas, seeking rather the glory of his country
And the relief of the poor than thirsting for
The accumulation of hoards of wealth.
And, therefore, by the will of God
He became richer, an exemplary chief-Magistrate of the city
Full of honour and fidelity, serving Christ and God
According to the teaching of the Church of England
(Which was dear to his heart), he closed his life in peace
And now enjoys eternal peace beyond the stars."[1]

In panel under the female, in English :—

"What riches, grace and nature coulde bestowe
In her (that's here interred) as streames did flowe
A second Martha one whose faith did even
Wing'd with hope and love mount up to heaven,
Heere sweetelie sleepes her dust, her soule dievine
Is fledd from hence and now above doth shine;
As loathinge earth shoulde longer kept inthrall,
From Christ, to be with whome is best of all,
Where now shee lives in blisse and lefte us heere
To mourne her losse yet joy to meete her there."

On back of canopy above the male effigy, in Latin :—

"Robert Aldworth
Mercatoris et senatoris
Bristol M. N. H. M. A.
Renatus } November { 8 } 1561.
Denatus } { 6 } 1634.
Sonabit tuba et mortuus vivam."

Above the female, in English :—

D. O. M. S.

"Martha Aldworth the lovinge & belov'd wife
Of Robert Aldworth Merchant Adventurer &
Alderman of this citie of Bristol lyeth heere
Under interred, to whose pious and everlivinge
Memory, and as a perpetual testimonie of his

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 218.

Dear love and her matchless virtues, her
Sorrowful surviving husband aforesaide
Hath dedicated this monument.
Obiit 2nd die, Maij Ano Dni 1619
Ætat suæ 58.'

On entablature :—

" Deu laudate fidem servati
vigilate orate bene erit."

ROBERT ALDWORTH, died 1634, aged 73.

MARTHA, his wife, died 1619, aged 58.

10. The entire monument has been in 1901 thoroughly cleaned and decorated. The figures are not painted, but the kneeling cushions are red and all ornamentation on the tomb is in red and gold. Formerly the whole of the monument was richly embellished with gilt and colour.

11. There are no mutilations. Inscription on the side states :—

" This monument was beautified at the charge of Mr. Thomas Moore, Merchant, 1706, And again renovated by St. Peter's Vestry 1901."

12. Placed against the east wall of the south aisle.

13. No illustration is known.

14. In excellent preservation.

15. Robert Aldworth was born in 1561, and became a great oversea merchant and sugar-boiler at St. Peter's House, Bristol, which he rebuilt about 1612 for a dwelling-house and refinery. As early as 1582 he obtained a grant for fitting out a ship to trade to North America and try to find the North-west passage, and later he fitted out another colonising expedition, even building in Bristol, docks for his ships. He was sheriff in 1596, mayor in 1609, three times Master of the Merchant Venturers, and alderman from 1614 till his death. He died without issue, and was buried in " his own ile " in St. Peter's Church, having left largely for charities in the city.[1]

[1] *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 274, and vol. iii., pp. 298-301; Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, p. 44, 88, 500.

1. Civilian. Mayor in robe of office.
   Lady.
2. Kneeling effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive.
5. The male figure wears a large cloak edged with fur, the sleeves reaching to the elbows, and a full ruff round the neck.

The female figure is dressed in the costume of the period: a full skirt over a modified farthingale, tight bodice with full, padded sleeves, and a ruff round the neck. The hands of both figures are raised in prayer.

6.

7. Both kneel on square cushions before a double reading-desk.

8. A mural monument with figures, under a narrow, arched canopy supported by marble pillars. Beneath is a plain tablet with inscription. Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 219) states that the arms are above the canopy, but they are at present hidden from view by the organ.

9. Inscription, nearly illegible :—

"To the Memory of the Worshipfull Mr. George Harrington, sometime Mayor and Alderman of the Citie, who departed this life the second of Januarie, 1639."

George Harrington, died 1639, and his wife.

10. The figures are painted in black.

11. There are no mutilations visible.

12. Placed against the east wall of the north aisle, but almost entirely hidden from view by the wooden case of the organ, which was built into the adjoining wall in 1871.

13. No illustration is known.

14 The monument is very much neglected.

15. Little is known of the history of George Harrington beyond that he was a brewer in Bristol, and held the offices of sheriff in 1604, of mayor in 1617, and was alderman from that time till his death. He was a great benefactor of the

churches of St. Werburgh and St. Stephen, Bristol. There is a portrait of him in the Council Chamber.[1]

---

1. Male cadaver.
2. Recumbent.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 4 in. long.
5. The cadaver represents a very starved body, and is wrapped in grave-clothes, tied at the head and feet with cord and thrown open in front. The right arm rests by the side, whilst the left hand holds a portion of the wrap over the loins.
6. There is no pillow beneath the head.
7. The feet rest on the slab only.
8. There is no tomb. The slab with effigy rests on the floor.
9. There is no inscription, and it is not known for whom the figure was intended. Tradition has it that the original was a parish priest, who took a vow to fast forty days, but succumbed on the thirty-ninth. This is the common fiction where any such memorial remains.
10. There is no sign of painting.
11. The figure is worn, but not mutilated.
12. Placed on the floor at the east end of the south aisle. The figure formerly stood in an upright position against the south wall.
13. No illustration is known.
14. In good preservation and carefully executed.
15.

ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH.—Dedicated to SS. Philip and Jacob.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Head of an effigy.
3. Stone.

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 220; Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 293.

4. Life-size.

5. The head represents a Norman knight clad in chain mail. The hauberk is drawn up beneath the ears and there fastened on each side by a cord to the flaps of the coif de mailles, which completely covers the head. Beneath the coif would be a small skull-cap of iron, which is shown to be held in place by a cord entwined amongst the rings above the forehead. The strongly-marked features are those of a man in the prime of life, and may be a portrait. The eyes are open, and a drooping moustache is clearly shown.

6.

7.

8. The head is half built into the wall and rests on a plain bracket. It is all that remains of what appears to have been a splendid effigy of the early part of the thirteenth century.

9. There is no inscription and nothing to assist in the identification.

10. The head is coated with whitewash.

11. The nose is chipped.

12. Placed against the south wall of the north or "Kemy's" aisle.

13. There is no illustration known.

14. The head is in an excellent state of preservation.

15. It is not known to whose effigy the head belonged.

---

1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Portion of recumbent effigy.

3. Stone.

4. More than life-size.

5. The figure is represented in a suit of plate armour without any chain, of a style introduced at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The body is encased in a metal cuirass, with a light skirt of taces strapped together at the sides, to which are buckled tuilles, the lower parts now broken off. The throat is protected by a gorget, and the

head by a pointed helmet or salade with raised visor and mentonnière, and adorned with a row of conical-shaped ornaments. There are small pauldrons meeting the epaulieres, with hinged brassarts and very large and heavy coudes, as well as gauntlets of plate undivided at the fingers with pointed cuffs. The legs of the figure have been broken and are missing. A narrow belt passes round the waist, and is crossed in front in such a way that the ends extend downwards obliquely across the taces to meet another belt coming from the back, to which they are fastened by buckles. There are no signs of any weapons being attached. Over the gorget is a collar of square, open links. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

Similar armour is shown on the effigy of Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley, 1361, St. Mark's Chapel, Bristol.

6. The head rests on a small but full, square pillow adorned with large tassels. Belonging to the effigy and originally placed at the head is a detached stone having upon it a coronet carved with strawberry leaves.

7. Destroyed.

8. No tomb pertaining to the effigy is known, and the broken slab and figure are at present placed on an altar-tomb belonging to another family.

9. There is no inscription, and the effigy has not been identified. Barrett (*History of Bristol*, p. 208) suggests that it was Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, because he had seen some words to that effect scribbled across the drawing of a similar figure. The strawberry leaves for the coronet were, however, not used before Edward II., 1307–27, and the armour shows the effigy must belong to nearly a century later, the jupon having disappeared, and the skirt of taces come in during the reign of Henry V.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The lower half of the body is gone, and the features are defaced.

12. Placed temporarily on a tomb in the east end of the

north aisle. Previously it was "fixed" in the wall at the upper end of the north aisle,[1] and afterwards against the wall at the west end.[2]

13. No illustration or description known.

14. The effigy is in a worn condition.

15. It is not known to whom this monumental effigy belongs.

---

1. Civilian. Sheriff in robe of office.

2. Upright effigy, three-quarter length.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure is dressed in a coat closely buttoned down the front, the ample sleeves of which reach a little below the elbow, with cuffs, cut up, pointed and fastened back by two buttons. Underneath are visible the very full linen sleeves of a shirt, buttoned tight at a narrow wristband, with full cuffs.

Much of the figure is covered by a civic gown without sleeves, falling straight in front with wide bands of fur. At the neck is a linen Geneva band with ends, and on the head a very large peruke.

The right hand is lightly laid on the breast, and the left rests on a half-open book, standing up endways.

6.

7.

8. A mural monument, with a canopy of the Renaissance style, supported by twisted Ionic pillars, standing on corbels of acanthus leaves.

In the centre, the effigy stands in a deeply-recessed oval, wreathed with laurel leaves and berries; in the upper corners are cherubs, and in the lower cross-bones and Death's-heads crowned with laurel.

Above the canopy is a shield without charges, and beneath the figure are an oblong and an oval tablet, the former of which alone contains an inscription.

[1] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 208. [2] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 204

9. Inscription on oblong tablet beneath the figure:—

"Here lyeth ye Body of Henry Merrett, Esq., sometime Sheriff of this City, an Inhabitant of the out Parish, to ye Poor of which He was a Benefactor, who Departed this life the 11th Day of September Ano Dom. 1692. In the 71st Yeare of his Age."

HENRY MERRETT, died 1692, aged 70.

10. The features are painted flesh colour, the coat and gown a dark blue, and the shirt sleeves white.

11. The canopy is chipped in places.

12. Placed against the north wall of the north or "Kemy's" aisle.

13. There is no illustration or description known.

14. The hands and face are very well sculptured, and the whole is in good condition, though neglected.

15. Nothing is known about Henry Merrett except that he was a member of the Bristol Corporation from 1671-84, and again from 1688-90; and that he held office as sheriff in 1676 with Henry Gleson, and during the mayoralty of William Crabb.[1]

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Stephen the Martyr.

1. Civilian.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, the female being the longer.
5. The male figure is clothed in the prevailing dress of the higher classes at the end of the fourteenth century. He wears a cote-hardie with large buttons, tight from the throat to the waist, and fuller about the thighs. The sleeves reach to the elbows only, and beyond to the wrists are the tight-buttoned sleeves of an under-tunic. Over the shoulders he wears a "caputium," or small, falling cape, fastened in front

[1] Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, pp. 224 and 302.

by one button, with its hood standing up like a loose collar. The legs are covered with close-fitting hose, and the feet with sandals, high at the heels and strapped across the ankles, the markings of the toes being shown. Straight across the hips, buckled on the left side, is a broad belt, handsomely studded with jewels, the end hanging downwards to the knee. To it, on the right side, is attached an analace (mutilated). The hair is long and parted in the centre, with curls on each side. Only a short moustache is shown, but the face is not that of a young man. The hands are raised from the body in the attitude of prayer.

The female costume is of rather earlier date than the male, probably of about 1350. It consists of a long, tight-bodiced gown, or surcote, which falls in numerous ample folds below the waist, covering the feet. On the hips, in front, are two long indentations, intended to represent pockets. Over the shoulders and arms is a long cloak, fastened across the breast with a cordon. The head is covered with the square, reticulated head-dress, beneath which the hair appears braided on each side of the cheeks; a wimple encloses the chin, and a veil falls at the back. The eyes are open, and the hands are clasped in prayer.

6. The male head rests on two pillows, the under one oblong and the top one square, set diagonally and tasselled. The female head rests on one oblong, tasselled pillow.

7. The male feet are closely bent over a lion (mutilated), with its tail thrown over its back. Those of the female rest against a dog (mutilated), which is almost concealed beneath the gown.

8. A recessed tomb underneath a pure Decorated English canopy (restored). The front (original) is divided by buttresses into six shallow niches, which contain three male and three female "weepers," about 18 in. high, attired in ordinary costume of the same period as the female effigy. The niches have trefoiled ogee heads, with crockets and finials, and between them are shields without devices. The tomb is surmounted by a large ogee-headed canopy, with large

crockets and finials. It is tri-cusped in the middle, with two smaller hanging cusps on each side. The moulding of the buttresses and canopy is simple fillet and hollow, with square flowers at intervals, the whole being a modern restoration. The vault is formed into two compartments by a single rib, having a large boss in the centre and terminating in floriated corbels.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be EDWARD BLANKET and WIFE, died after 1362.

It is not known to whom these effigies should be ascribed, but these facts must be considered :—

(*a*) The recess seems to show that the figures were originally on separate tombs.

(*b*) The man must represent a wealthy burgess, because of the sumptuary laws of Edward III., and could have had no military rank, or would at that period have been represented in armour.

(*c*) A silver Spanish coin of 1454 was found beneath the man's head in 1844.

Edward Blanket was a Bristol merchant, to whom the last two conditions apply. He showed his interest in the church by founding a chantry there, and the effigy may be reasonably ascribed to him.[1]

10. Both effigies show signs of being at one time covered with dull red paint. The figures on the front of the tomb retain portions of their original colours.

11. The head of the lion and edge of the cushion have been sawn away, and the analace defaced. When the recess was closed up (see No. 12) the projection of the arch, the edge of the slab and part of the male's shoulder were likewise sawn off, but have been restored, before 1861.

12. Placed in a recess in the north aisle. The effigies were probably in the old church, first mentioned in 1304, and on its rebuilding in 1450–90 were removed into the

[1] *The Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book*, 1844, p. 114; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 258.

present church. It is probable that originally only the female effigy was in this recess, which was made deeper at a later period, as shown by the masonry and inner arch, so that the figure could be pushed further in to make room outside for the male effigy on its separate slab and for the loose front of a tomb. At such time the ground of the recess must have been nearly two feet below the modern floor of the church. The recess and its contents were concealed by oak wainscoting in 1630, when all the projecting canopy outside was cut away. It was only exposed again when the church was restored in 1844.

13. Tomb and effigies described in *The Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book*, 1844, pp. 114—120. Male effigy described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xviii., part ii., p. 257. Tomb illustrated and described in *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., p. 82. Water-colour drawing of tomb painted in 1844, now in the possession of Mr. A. E. Hudd, Bristol.

14. The effigies are in very good preservation.

15. Edward Blanket, the eldest of three brothers, was largely engaged in the woollen trade in Bristol. The family probably derived its name from the white cloth called "blankete," known to have been worn in England some 200 years before this man's death. He founded one of the chantries at this church, and was elected a Member of Parliament for Bristol in 1362.[2]

---

1. Civilian.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.
5. He wears a long, full tunic falling in straight folds to the feet without an opening in front, and with long, loose sleeves and wide cuffs. Below these are visible the ribbed sleeves of an under-garment, which extend to the knuckles

[2] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, pp. 257, 258; Latimer, *Hist. of Soc. of Merch. Vent. of Bristol*, p. 10.

and are closely buttoned on the underside. A hood stands up round the neck, and a baldrick marked with bands falls from both shoulders, buckled on the left side, and carrying in the centre, below the waist, a short, upright analace. The feet are covered with pointed shoes, and the hands are raised from the body in the attitude of prayer. There is a jewelled ring on the third finger of the right hand. The hair is curly and luxuriant, the eyes half closed, and the expression peaceful and devotional. He has a small moustache and a short, forked beard of the period.

Similar costume is shown on the effigy of Walter Frampton, 1388, St. John Baptist Church, Bristol.

6. The head rests on two square, tasselled pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying down (headless).

8. The effigy, on its slab, rests on the ground in a recess having a plain, ogee-shaped arch.

9. An illegible inscription is said to be on the edges of the slab, but as they are next to the wall it is invisible.

Ascribed to WALTER TYDDESTILLE, or TYDDELEY, died 1385. He was buried in the church, and the dress of his period corresponds to that of the effigy.[1]

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The left foot is broken off and the head of the dog. The analace and beard are mutilated.

12. Now placed in a recess, second from the east, in the wall of the north aisle. It was discovered in 1844, when the church was repewed, embedded in the wall of the south aisle, which was plainly not its original position; it had been hidden behind some old wainscot, erected about 1630. It was transferred and fixed in its present recess in the wall of the north aisle, thus bringing its left arm outwards and concealing the inscription on the slab.

13. Described in *The Antiquarian and Architectural Year Book*, 1844, p. 116; illustrated in *The Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., p. 83.

[1] *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iii., p. 83; Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 259.

14. The features and details are well carved and remain in good condition, but the figure is neglected and only seen with difficulty, through being placed on the ground and wedged in by pews.

15. Walter Tyddestille was one of the bailiffs of Bristol in 1377, and by his will desired to be buried in St. Stephen's Church, to which he left various charities.[1]

---

1. Civilian. Mayor in gown of office.
   Lady, with three sons and three daughters.
2. Incised kneeling figures.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive. Male 1 ft. 3 in.; female 1 ft. 2 in.
5. The male figure wears a long, sleeveless mayor's cloak, trimmed with wide bands of ermine down the front. It reaches to the ground over a supertunic, the large, full sleeves of which are alone visible, ending in vandycked cuffs. Round the neck is a small ruff, and on the head a full, close-fitting cap, concealing the ears. He has a small moustache and short, round beard. The feet are covered with pointed shoes with high heels, and the hands are folded on the breast.

The three sons are dressed in similar costume, including the cloak and fur.

The lady is very simply dressed in a long, flowing gown, with exceedingly large pendent sleeves falling from the elbow, the forearm being bare. Round the neck she wears a small upturned ruff, and on the head a close-fitting cap, covering the ears and edged with a frill. The feet and hands are like those of the male figure.

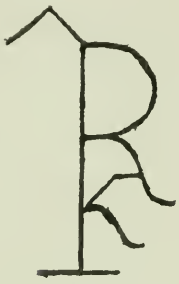
The three daughters are dressed in similar gowns, but with falling ruffs and caps with stand-up frills.

6.

7. A substantial and ornamented pedestal, with a double

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 258.

reading-desk, separates the male and female figures, which kneel behind each other on large, square, tasselled cushions.



MERCHANT MARK OF ROBERT KITCHIN,
St. Stephen's Church, Bristol.

8. The figures are incised on a square stone slab, which is framed in stone, painted black to imitate marble, with raised gilded fleurs-de-lys at the corners and in the centre of the two sides. Above the figures are three incised shields, the centre one having the merchant's mark of the initials "R. K." and the side ones bearing arms charged in sable.

"(Argent) on a chevron (gules) between three birds (bustards or cormorants) sable as many fleurs-de-lys (or)," Variation of KITCHIN.

"(Argent) three crossbows bent, each loaded with a three-headed birdbolt sable (a chief vert)," SEARCHFIELD.

9. Deeply incised inscription at the feet of the figures:—

"Deceased the 5th of September An. Doni 1594
Robert Kitchin, Alderman & his wiefe,
Lieth neere this place closed in Earth & Clay;
Their Charities alike in Death and Life,
Who to the Poore gave all their goodes away;
Leaving in trust such men to act the same,
As might with truth perfor(m) their good entent,
So that the poore indeed and eke in name,
To lasting Ages in this Citie meant
And other places of this Kingdom faire
As Kendall towne & Stuckland field both have;
With Bathe the native place of her first ayre,
The Bountie of their gvyftes they to them gave."

ROBERT KITCHIN, died 1594, his wife and children.

10. The stone slab is gilded and the incised figures are painted black.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Fixed on the south wall near the east end.

Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 259) states it is "over the vestry door, at the eastern extremity of the south aisle."

13. No illustration known.

14. The tablet is in good condition.

15. Little is known of the history of Robert Kitchin, except that he was a merchant of great wealth and unbounded liberality. He was Sheriff of Bristol in 1572 and Mayor in 1588. His residence was in Small Street, where he entertained the Earls of Leicester and Warwick in 1587. By his will he bequeathed the house to be sold and the money to be spent amongst the poor of Bristol and Kendal in Westmoreland. A portrait of him hangs in the Bristol Council Chamber, and amongst the civic plate are two pieces presented by him when alderman in 1573.[1]

From the arms on the slab the wife must have belonged to the Searchfield family, to which also belonged the Bishop of Bristol, 1619–22.

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1. Judicial.

2. Effigy, lying on the right side.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 8 in. long.

5. The figure is dressed in the legal robes of office (in colours). A long, full, red gown falls to the feet in ample folds, and is confined at the waist by a folded linen girdle with fringed ends; its long, wide sleeves have fur cuffs, and show the small ruffles of an under-garment. Over this is an ample cloak falling from the right shoulder, and handsomely bordered with fur.

Round the neck is a ruff, and on the head a close-fitting coif and black, flat, diamond-shaped cap. The feet have

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 259.

thick-soled boots or shoes, the toes alone being visible. The head rests on the right hand, and in the left is held a scroll. The eyes are open, and the face wrinkled and full of expression.

6. The right elbow rests on a large oblong cushion with ornamental border.

7. The feet rest against a clasped book, standing on its end.

8. A large and costly altar-tomb, being a gorgeous example of early seventeenth-century work, and carved with a variety of devices typical of Death. The effigy reclines on it, beneath a canopy supported by two Corinthian pillars. At the back are two small niches with figures representing Youth and Old Age, and in the centre a slab containing an inscription, its framework being adorned with bosses and an escutcheon. Above the entablature is another shield with the crest.

On escutcheon: "Sable (should be azure), three leopards' faces in pale or," SNYGGE.

Impaling: "Per fess gules and vert a fess or between three birds' (? griffins) heads erased of the last."

On shield: Arms of Snygge.

Crest: On esquire's helmet and wreath, "Hawk rising gorged gules." This is not known to be the Snygge crest.

9. Latin inscription at back of canopy. The original inscribed letters have recently been painted over, and now appear as follows:—

"Hic jacet corpus Dni Georgi Snygge equitts ayrati
Seryietis ad legeml Gazaphylash Regii Baronibus
Secundi, in dicis prudentissimi huice gregia civitate
Quondam amemoria qui dum in vivis fuit, pietatem
Erga Deum devote colvitiostitiam sincere adminis
Travit bonorum sedulus propugnator vitiorum severs
Opugnator pauperum et egenorum misericors reiqciemior
Extitit obtit non sine civitatis huiuis honorata
Patriæ qui suæ adamatæ cui prodesse cupiit deside Rio
Et dolore die undecimo Novembris Anno Saiunis Hostra

Millesimo sexcentesimo decimo Septimo et atatis sua
Septuagesimo tertio secundom Christi adventum et cororis
Sup beatam gloriosamove, resurrectionlm expectans.

In sempiternum piæ gratudinis
Testimonium et obsequii char
Issimo patri debiti monumenim
Posuit et dicavit tilta Snygge."

The amended Latin words of this inscription are probably as follows:—

"Hic jacet Corpus Dni Georgi Snygge equitis aurati
Servietis ad legem, e Gazaphylakii Regii Baronibus
Secundi, judicis prudentissimi huic egregiæ civitati
Quondam a memoria qui dum in vivis fuit, pietatem
Erga Deum devote coluit, justitiam sincere adminis-
Travit, bonorum sedulus propugnator, vitiorum severus
Oppugnator, pauperum et egenorum misericors recuperator
Exstitit obiit non sine civitatis hujus honoratæ
Patriæque suæ animatæ cui prodesse cupiit desiderio
Et dolore die undecimo Novembris Anno salutis nostra
Millesimo sexcentesimo decimo Septimo et ætatis suæ
Septuagesimo tertio secundum Christi adventum et corporis
Sui beatam gloriosamque resurrectionem expectans.

In sempiternum piæ gratudinis
Testimonium et obsequii char-
Issimo patri debiti monumentum
Posuit et dicavit Anna[1] Snygge."

TRANSLATION.

"Here lies the body of George Snygge, Knt., Sergeant-at-law, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, a most skilful judge, formerly Recorder of this famous City, who in his life time zealously applied himself to the worship of God; he impartially administered justice, was a diligent promoter of virtue, and a severe opposer of vice; he was always a charitable reliever

[1] May be "Johne."

of the poor and needy. He died, to the great loss and grief of this his honoured City and much loved country (whose interests he had always at heart), the 11th day of November, 1617, in the 73rd year of his age. His loving daughter, Anne Snygge, hath erected and dedicated this monument in perpetual testimony of her pious gratitude and duty to her most dear father."[1]

Latin inscription on front of tomb on panels is illegible, but in Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 515, it is given as follows:—

"Conditur hoc tumulo juris lequamque peritus,
Jus aliis vitæ dixerat atque necis;
Jus rigidum sævæ mortis vitare nequivit,
Omnia sub leges quæ vocat atra suas.
At vero spolium mors atra reportat opimum
Exultans victrix, Io triumpe, canat.
Eripuit, fateor, miseram mors improba vitam,
Morbis, ærumnis, auxietate gravem.
Ast invita refert etiam mors improba vitam,
Pienam cælesti lumine luce Dei.
Eripuit veros quos præbet mundus honores,
Cælestique dedit semper honore frui."

TRANSLATION.

"In this tomb lies one who was skilled in the laws and ordinances. He administered to others the law of life and death, but was himself unable to escape the stern decree of the Relentless. Death has indeed carried off a rich booty, and, exulting in his victory, let him sing, 'Io triumpe!' The tyrant has, I will confess, cut short a miserable life oppressed with disease, with trouble and anxiety, but, unwillingly, he has also brought another life full of celestial light in the presence of God. He has snatched away the high honours which this world affords, but given in

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 260.

exchange celestial honours which shall endure for evermore."[1]

English inscription on front of tomb on pilasters:—

"To the Memory of
Sir Geo. Snigge, Knt.
Sergeant at law
one of the Barons
of the Exchequer
Recorder of
Bristol 1592–1604
M.P. for Bristol
1597–1601–1604
He proclaimed
King James I.
at the Civic
High Cross in
1603 Top of High St.
Died 1617 aged 73
and buried in the
Chancel."

"The remains of his
Father Alderman
Snigge and his
Mother are
also interred
near this place."

"His ancestors
were connected
with this city
for nearly two
centuries
previous to
his decease."

Sir George Snygge, died 1617, aged 73.

10. The tomb and canopy are painted to represent coloured marbles, and the effigy is in natural colours.

11. There are no mutilations. On the canopy is inscribed:—

"This monument was repair'd att the cost of Thomas Hodges Esq: the grandsonn of the afore said George Snygge."

On the front of the tomb:—

"This monument was again restored January, 1889.

"M. C. Crofton Rector C. H. Tucker / R. B. Sayce Churchwardens."

12. Placed at the east end of the south aisle. The monument formerly stood at the eastern end of the chancel,

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 260.

where the altar now stands, but was removed to its present position at the time the church was repewed in 1733.[1]

13. No description or illustration is known.

14. In very good condition.

15. Sir George Snygge was Member of Parliament for Cricklade in 1588, and besides what is stated on the monument, he is referred to in the Records of Bristol. He was paid 6s. 8d. per day as a Member of Parliament for the city, and after he resigned that position in 1605 to become Baron of the Exchequer, the Corporation used to send him presents of wine, and he helped them in 1609 in a lawsuit against the Crown. He was knighted in 1604.[2]

ST. WERBURGH'S CHURCH.—Dedicated to St. Werburga.

1. Civilian. Mayor in robe of office.

2. Half-recumbent effigy, right hand supporting the head.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure wears a doublet, closely buttoned to the waist, with padded sleeves ending in wide cuffs, and is girdled with an ornamental belt hooked in front. The breeches are also padded, and gathered in a band below the knees and tied with a folded garter. The legs are probably in hose, but they are covered, as well as most of the body, with a mayor's cloak, open in front and edged with a broad band of fur. The sleeves are short, reaching to the elbows, puffed high on the shoulders, and edged with fur. There is also a narrow band of fur round the bottom. At the neck is a very full, turn-down ruff, and the feet are covered with thick, pointed boots. The hair is closely cropped, with a peaked beard and rather heavy

[1] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 514.

[2] *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, pp. 20, 36; Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 308.

moustache. The right hand supports the head, and the left clasps a pair of alderman's gloves.

Similar costume on the effigy of Thomas Machen, 1614, Gloucester Cathedral.

6. The right elbow rests on a large, square, tasselled cushion.

7. The feet rest on the slab only.

8. A low altar-tomb in a recess under a plain, flat testoon, supported by two pillars with Corinthian capitals. The front is divided into panels by plain pilasters, and at the back is an inscription with a massive stone framework. Pryce (*History of Bristol*, p. 254) gives the arms on the original tomb, but there are none shown now.

9. Inscription at back of canopy:—

"To The Pious Memory
of John Barker Esquire
late Mayor & Alderman of this City.

If Virtue, Learning, Piety and Wit
Could free from Death, thou hadst not died yet:
If Zeal or Wisdom could a Man reprieve,
Thou hadst been spar'd and hadst been yet alive.
Thou Pious, Prudent, upright wast and Just,
Thy Virtues live tho' thou art turn'd to dust
Thy Soul's Immortaliz'd and tow'rs above
The Reach of envy, nothing's there but love.
Where with Ye Saints and Angells thou dost sing
Sweet Hallelujahs to Thy Glorious King."

John Barker, died 1606.

10. The costume of the effigy before removal was painted black and red, but now the whole figure is of a buff colour.

11. The nose is mutilated, and the buttons of the doublet nearly worn away. The buff paint is peeling off. The tomb and testoon are modern copies.

12. Placed in a recess at the east end of the north aisle. It formerly stood at the west side of the south entrance

of the old church erected in Small Street, Bristol, but was removed in 1877, when the church was taken down and rebuilt in its present locality.

13 No illustration or description is known.

14. The effigy is fairly well preserved.

15. John Barker was sheriff in 1593 and mayor in 1606, dying suddenly at the close of his year of office. In consequence of a terrible flood in that year, a census of the city was taken to ascertain how many persons had to be fed. He also took the lead in a dispute with the Bristol Cathedral authorities.[1]

[1] *Bristol: Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 273.

he plan which ought to accompany this paper has, by mistake, been inserted at page 33.—C. S. T.

THE CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF ABBEY DORE, HEREFORDSHIRE.

By ROLAND W. PAUL, F.S.A.

The exact date of the foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Dore is somewhat uncertain, but the generally-received date is 1147, its founder having been Robert, Lord of Ewyas, grandson of the Conqueror. In the same year Robert Fitzhamon, Earl of Gloucester, founded a Cistercian abbey at Margam, near Swansea, and in one or two details these abbeys have points in common.

The architectural history of Dore must be chiefly obtained from the buildings themselves. In 1260 building operations had apparently come to a standstill, and Peter d'Aquablanca, the then Bishop of Hereford, issued a letter granting an indulgence to all who would contribute to the completion of the church. A consecration took place in the time of Bishop Cantelupe (1275–82), so that by the end of the thirteenth century the building was in all probability complete. Whether any subsequent additions were made is uncertain, but judging by the work that has been found during the past few years, this does not seem probable.

The abbey was suppressed in 1535, and was afterwards granted to John Scudamore; but it was not until 1633 that John, Viscount Scudamore, restored the transepts and presbytery as a parish church, and built the tower now standing in the angle formed by the presbytery and south transept. It was reconsecrated in 1634. Scudamore inserted some fittings, the full extent of which, however, we do not know; but the existing chancel screen is of his date, and some of the woodwork of the pews, probably also the west gallery, and the

14. The effigy is [illegible]

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south porch. The vaulting having in all probability quite disappeared, Scudamore reroofed the church and ceiled it with a flat plaster ceiling.

Beyond some minor additions and alterations—general repairs to the roofs and fittings—nothing had been done to the church between 1634 and 1895. In that year I made some excavations with a view of finding, if possible, the extent of the nave and chapter-house, and since that year the work of exploration has been continued from time to time. The result has been to determine the extent and arrangement of the nave, and also the planning of the chapter-house and its vestibule.

Between October, 1901, and June, 1903, the paving of the church was taken up and relaid on a bed of concrete; the upper part of the tower, which had become dangerous, was made secure, and a system of drainage laid round the exterior. During the progress of these works many objects of interest were found, and additional light thrown on the arrangement of this part of the building. The Presbytery was re-opened for Divine Service, June 29th, 1903.

Apart from the few documents which deal mostly with gifts to the church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the confirmation of these gifts by Henry III., the foregoing notes constitute practically all that relates to its architectural history.

The church and monastery as originally planned undoubtedly followed the usual Cistercian plan—a long nave with narrow aisles, divided in many places by screens of wood and stone; a transept with (in this case) *four* chapels (two in each wing), and an aisleless presbytery. The conventual buildings were, as at Tintern and Buildwas, on the north side. The cloister court, on the north side of the nave, had the sacristy, chapter-house and subvault of the dormitory on its eastern side; the warming-house, refectory and kitchen on its north side; and on the west, separated by a "lane" or open court, a range of buildings running north and south, probably devoted to the conversi or lay-brethren,

who here had their own refectory and dormitory, and also a separate entrance to the church.

At a little distance from the church to the north-east was probably the infirmary, and the mill-stream (now filled up) formed the main drain of the abbey, being diverted from the main stream of the Dore above the mill and rejoining it further south beyond the monastery.

The *nave* was of *nine* bays, 138 ft. in length and 54 ft. in breadth. The columns were circular, 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter, with caps of Transitional character, some having Norman, others Early English detail, or a combination of the two. The arches of the arcade were pointed, and there was no triforium, but a clerestory with a single lancet in each bay, having a deep inner splay, similar to those in the existing church. Colour was in some instances introduced to throw the carving on the caps into greater relief. There was probably *no west door*, but there were two doors on the north side. The westernmost of these was to give access to the church for the conversi, the other was the only direct communication between the church and the cloister. The *structural nave* (that is, everything west of the "crossing") was divided transversely into *three* parts. The first part extended from the west wall to the fifth or central bay of the arcade; and here was a stone screen with an altar in the centre, flanked by two doorways, the wall being slightly thickened behind the altar to carry the reredos. This formed the church of the conversi, who approached it through the doorway in the north wall already mentioned.

The aisles of the nave were divided from the centre by stone screens placed under the arcades, and pierced at intervals for doorways. This arrangement, peculiar to Cistercian churches, is still very clearly marked at Tintern, Buildwas, and other abbeys of the order; and at Dore the walls were found standing in two bays on the north side, about 2 ft. in height. In the central bay, behind the nave altar, the side-screen walls were pierced by doorways; these gave admittance to the *second* division of the nave, which

formed a retro-choir 33 ft. in length. The eastern boundary of this was the wall of the pulpitum, 5 ft. 6 in. in thickness, extending right across the church. Two altars stood against it under the arcades, and there would have been a doorway in the centre leading into the *third* division. This third division was the choir of the monks, and their stalls were returned against it, and probably extended eastward for the remaining two bays of the nave and half-way across the "crossing."

The foundations of both altars against the pulpitum were discovered, but the central doorway had disappeared and the wall was ruined to its foundations.

We come now to the *transepts*, and within the walls of the existing church. (Viscount Scudamore walled up the west arch of the "crossing" and the arches into the nave aisles.) The total length of the transepts is 94 ft., their breadth is 28 ft. In the north wall are two doorways: the lower one leads to the sacristy; the other one, at a higher level, led to the monks' dormitory, and was reached by the "night stairs" in the north-west angle of the transept.

The south transept has a doorway in its south wall, and its southern half and the chapel eastward of it were screened off from the rest of the church. The mortices for these screens still remain.

On going eastward from the transepts we enter the presbytery, and here we find a change in the architecture. The westernmost bay of the three is decidedly earlier in date than the other two, and the junction of the newer work is clearly marked just east of the first wall shaft. The section, too, of this wall shaft is of earlier form.

The greater part, if not the whole, of the portions of the building so far described is work of Transitional character, the date varying from the first foundation in 1147 to the end of the century. We have no record, unfortunately, as to whether the presbytery was completed; but judging from the general practice of beginning at the east end in order to have the high altar in position, and from foundations

discovered lately, there seems little doubt but that the first presbytery coincided with the present one, but it was, of course, without aisles.

We know, however, that benefactors to this church were numerous, and they were members of important families. The Plokenets (or Plunkets), of Kilpeck Castle, about five miles away; the Cliffords, who had a castle a few miles north on the Wye; the Sitsylts (ancestors of the Cecils)—not to mention the descendants of the founder, De Ewyas, and the families with which they and the other families became connected by marriage—not only gave lands and made other bequests to the monastery, but in more than one instance were buried within the walls of the church; so that even if the presbytery *was* completed as originally designed, it undoubtedly for this reason became necessary to enlarge it. To do this the eastern walls of the two inner chapels of the transepts were pierced and an aisle or ambulatory was taken all round the then existing presbytery. Beyond the eastern ambulatory a range of five chapels was built, and the existing presbytery was transformed by having its side and end walls pierced by arcades. This is what is now seen, and it provided great additional accommodation for burials and tombs, without necessitating the disturbance of the high altar.

We can now identify the positions of thirteen altars—the high altar, five at the east end, two in the south aisle, two in the transepts, and three in the nave. Doubtless others existed, but no trace of them remains.

During the repaving of the church we have found what are no doubt the original foundation of the presbytery, the site of the high altar with its reredos, and the foundations of the five altars at the eastern end, with the bases of the screen walls that divided the chapels from one another. In five places we have found traces and remains of stone graves or bases of tombs—two on the north side of the presbytery, one on the south side, one in the south aisle, and one in the north aisle. There were no remains of tombs in the eastern

chapels, and the few traces of interments found were either of later date or had been considerably disturbed. Traces of the sedilia were discovered south of the high altar. The total length of the church (interior measurement) was, when complete, 238 feet.

The detail of the building generally is, as we may see, very simple, although a good deal of carving appears on the caps, some of it of very curious character, exhibiting that mixture of Norman detail and Early English foliage so characteristic of Transitional work. There are few interiors that could surpass in dignity the presbytery of Dore, and now that the temporary screens are removed something of its original fine effect has been restored to it.

Of the many important monuments and tombs the church must have possessed but few remain, and only slight traces have come to light during the progress of the repairs. Two mutilated effigies, now under the arches north and south of the altar, are said to represent Robert de Ewyas, the founder, and Roger de Clifford. A third effigy, small in size, is generally considered as having covered a heart burial. There are several local instances of heart burial. Bishop Aquablanca's heart was sent to his birthplace in Savoy for burial, Bishop Cantelupe's to Ashridge, while that of Margaret de Clifford was sent to Aconbury in 1260, and that of Lady Clarice de la Warr to Ewyas Harold about 1300.

During the excavations three slabs were found and a few fragments of effigies, including a fragment of considerable size belonging to the effigy known as that of Roger de Clifford, still retaining considerable traces of bright-blue colouring on the surcoat, which may possibly have been treated heraldically. Considerable fragments have been found from time to time in various parts of the site, some distance apart, which appear to have all belonged to a very beautiful shrine. A large portion of the canopy was found a few years ago near the site of the west end, and more recently some tracery elaborately coloured and gilt, caps and bases with delicate mouldings, and other fragments have been

unearthed. It was evidently an object of considerable sanctity, and special care seems to have been taken to thoroughly dismember it. When perfect it appears to have been about six feet in length and eighteen inches in width.

A great quantity of tile paving has been found of thirteenth and fourteenth century date; also a fairly large quantity of the grisaille and coloured glass from the windows, some of which may be sufficiently sound for re-use.

The original levels were in almost all instances found, and the paving has been relaid at these levels. At Viscount Scudamore's restoration it is evident that the débris found on the site was roughly levelled, and that the paving was laid directly on it. Burials took place in the church until the early years of the nineteenth century, and a certain amount of disturbance of the soil resulted. Considerable subsidences had, however, taken place in recent years, and the church was very unhealthy in consequence.

On taking up the paving it was found that between it and the clay level was a considerable thickness of débris, tiles, glass, worked stone, rubble, earth, skulls and bones. This has all been carefully examined, all the skulls and bones re-interred, and, with the other interments, covered with lime concrete. The lowering of the paving has exposed the altars and screen walls at the east end, and the bases and plinths of the columns and responds, adding much to the general effect of the interior and restoring its ancient proportions.

The date of the consecration in Bishop Cantelupe's time —in the last quarter of the thirteenth century—implies that building was in progress at a later date than anything now remaining. The explanation is, I think, that the *vaulting* had not been completed; and, in fact, during the excavations the sections of the vault ribs found and the bosses have all been very fully-developed thirteenth-century work, and the three large bosses, now at the east end, are distinctly work of early fourteenth-century date.

On the outside of the south transept, at the junction of

the south aisle of the nave, is an Early English vaulting shaft and cap with very delicate detail. The wall here is thinner than on the north side (where the original Norman corbel remains), and it is clear that some portion of the south aisle was rebuilt, and that the whole of the nave was re-vaulted quite at an advanced period in the thirteenth century.

The nave of the church, like the transepts and presbytery, was probably lighted entirely by lancets, either single or in groups, with perhaps a triplet at the west end.

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.

From traces of a wall recently discovered the cloister appears to have been about 100 feet square. The only approach to it from the church was through the large doorway in the north-east angle of the nave, of which the lower part of the jambs are visible. There are considerable traces of destroyed buildings to be seen in the meadow and orchard north of the church, but of remains above ground there are only the walls of the *sacristy* north of the transept and a fragment of the once twelve-sided *chapter-house*.

The *sacristy* had a barrel vault of stone, and at its west end, divided from it by a thin wall and approached only from the cloister, was a recess, probably used as a *book cupboard*. There was a double archway here, the cill and jambs rebated for doors; the holes for the hinges remain, and part of the original paving. The paving of part of the sacristy also is still in position.

The *chapter-house* must have been very fine when complete. It had a diameter of about 43 ft., and was twelve-sided on plan. It is slightly later in date than the chapter-house at Margam Abbey, near Swansea (which is circular within and twelve-sided without). These are the only two examples known to have existed in England of twelve-sided chapter-houses, although examples having six, eight and ten sides exist still in either a perfect or ruined state. The original chapter-house at Dore probably projected but little

beyond the east wall of the sacristy, and would have been about 30 ft. square. When, however, in the thirteenth century the new chapter-house was built, the early one became its vestibule, and the arches between it and the cloister, and possibly the whole of the vestibule other than the side walls, were remodelled, so as to harmonise with the extension. The foundations of the entrance to the chapter-house have been found, and also some of the foundations on its south side. The base of the central column, the springer of the vaulting, and one or two of the caps from the interior angles have been discovered, and are now among the worked stones preserved in the church.

Recently the *west* wall of the *eastern* range of buildings has been traced as far as the bed of the stream. The existing kitchen garden stands on the site not only of the cloister, but of part of the refectory, warming-house, and kitchen. From traces recently found, the refectory appears to have been about 26 ft. in width. Its length has not so far been determined.

Of the western range, which was, as already stated, separated from the cloister by a "lane" or open court, only the south wall, near the west front of the church, remains above ground, and I am afraid that everything has been taken away, even to the foundations. Its width was 28 ft., and it extended certainly to the stream and perhaps beyond it.

There is a wall now forming the west boundary of the orchard, 120 ft. in length, which is undoubtedly of great age, but until the ground generally has been more thoroughly examined it is not possible to say what it formed part of.

At some little distance north-east of the church is the site of the *infirmary*, and there are also traces of the position of the *fishponds*. Of the entrance-gate to the monastery there are no remains: it probably stood to the south or south-west of, and at some distance from, the church.

It is hoped that before long it may be possible to repair the roof of the transept of the existing church, which is in

a very unsafe condition, and to introduce a system of heating the interior during the winter months. This fine fragment of mediæval work, which Viscount Scudamore preserved for us in 1634, will then, it is hoped, last for many generations to come. It is the only presbytery of a Cistercian monastic church at present in use in England for divine worship, and has thus an interest apart from the very beautiful detail which is to be seen on every side.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL: THE CHOIR SCREEN.

By ROBERT HALL WARREN, F.S.A.

The re-erection of the fragments of the old organ screen forming backs to the sedilia of the choir, both on the north and south sides, has again brought into prominence the shield bearing the initials and monogram, or merchant's mark, of T. W. These shields were originally one on each side of the central doorway of the screen, as shown in Lyson's *Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*, 1804, plate 98.

Browne Willis, in his *Survey of the Cathedrals* (vol. ii., p. 763), writing in 1742, says that "Thomas Wright was in 1541 appointed Receiver-General for the Chapter at their first foundation, and had the ordering of their affairs and fitting up this church for a cathedral, and so took care to set up his cypher in all parts." Barrett, in his *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, 1789 (p. 291), copies this without acknowledgment, and all succeeding writers have followed in the same way. Neither Willis nor Barrett give their authority for this statement, and the late Mr. Latimer assured me that he had searched in vain for any confirmation, but could never find his name in any contemporary document.

With no desire to disturb Thomas Wright in his time-honoured possession of the receiver-generalship, I must confess to some satisfaction in depriving him of any credit attaching to the enclosing screens of the choir. It has always been a puzzle to me why Thomas Wright, if such a man existed, should have been allowed to put his initials so prominently on these screens, a distinction more likely to have been reserved for the first bishop or dean than for a man holding a subordinate office.

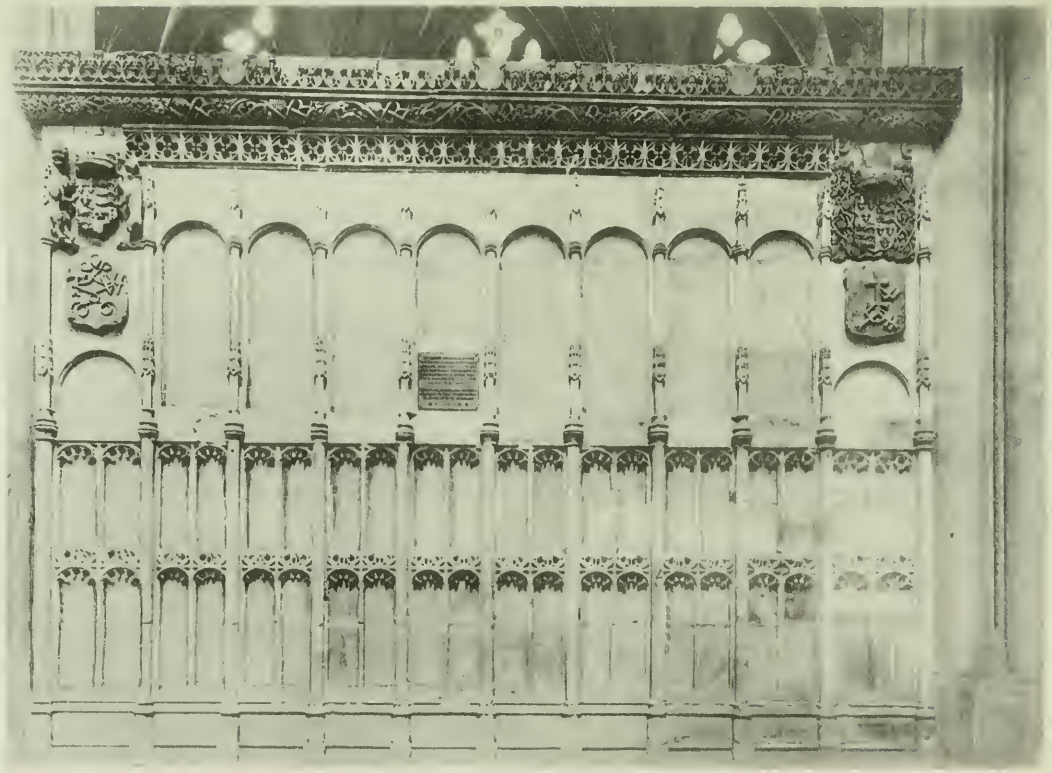
In the *Great Red Book* preserved at the Council House, Bristol (fo. 235), is the copy of the will of Thomas *White*, merchant, of Bristol, dated September 10th, 1542. After commending his soul to God and the Blessed Virgin, he bequeaths his "body to be buryed in the Crowdys of Saynt Jones Baptist Bristoll." He declares that he is whole of mind, but "*seke*" of body. It is a long will with many legacies; but it is expressive of his care for the work that his first bequest is the screen for the newly-constituted cathedral, which he fondly calls "my cathedral church."

"Also I give and bequethe unto my Cathedrall church called the Trynyte of Bristoll the Quere which was sometyme in the White ffriers, the which Phelipp Griffyth bought of John Nelare, and the said Quere to be sett upp at my coste and charge."

The Bishop Suffragan of Dover was in Bristol in May, 1538, executing a Royal Commission to make visitation of the mendicant orders and to sequestrate the goods and ornaments found in their houses. He writes to Cromwell that he "had beyn in Brystowe at the White Fryers and also in ij howsys of Glowseter, and ther for the gret clamor that was for dettes ther, I had men asyngneyd by the mayers of both towneys to prise suche as was in thoys iij howsys, *and solde all and payd the dettes.*"

White at the end of his will directs his executors to find an honest priest to say masses for his soul, for the soul of his father and mother and all Christian souls, and he was probably the last to found a yearly obit service in the city. It is significant of his state that the will made September 10th, 1542, was proved October 12th of the same year, so that he must have been "seke" unto death when he executed it.

That Thomas White was a person of renown in Bristol is shown by the fact that when King Henry VIII. came to Thornbury Castle in 1535, Mr. Thomas White, Mr. Nicholas Thorne and Mr. Chamberlayne by consent of the Mayor and Common Council of the Town on August 20th resorted to Thornbury, and there in the name of the said Mayor and



CHOIR SCREEN, BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

Commonalty "presented unto the kynges high maiestye x fatte oxen and xl shepe towardes his moost honorable houshold, and to the right excellent Quene Anne oon cuppe with a cover of silver overgilt, waiying xxvii unces, with C marks of gold within the same cuppe, as a gifte of this the Kynges Toune and hir Chambre of Bristowe."

Thomas White, of Bristol, merchant, paid a rent of two shillings yearly for farm of cemetery belonging to the Friars' Minors on the west side of the church of the said house abutting on a street called Lewens Mede.[1] He was witness to the will of Thomas Harte (merchant) in 1541, who shared the faith of his friend, and left £20 to a priest of an honest conversation to say mass in the "crowdes" of St. John's and pray for testator's soul and all Christian souls yearly as long as the said sum of £20 shall endure. He also left his friend Thomas Whyte, Alderman of Bristowe, "twoo Portag."[2]

Here, then, we have no mythical personage, but a man whom we know as a Bristol merchant, proud of his cathedral church, and no doubt proud of Bristol thereby being elevated to the rank of a city, possessing himself of this choir screen which formerly had stood in the Church of the White Friars, and ordering that the same shall be erected at his cost. It would be reasonable to expect that on such a work he would be allowed to affix his monogram, and in confirmation of this theory it is interesting to note that the "Merchant's mark" suits the surname of "White" better than that of "Wright." By the "Quere" which he left to the cathedral I presume is meant the choir screen, as the whole set of stalls were already

[1] G. E. Weare, *The Grey Friars*, p. 93.

[2] *Bristol Wills*, p. 179.

Note.—Portague—a Portuguese gold coin worth about £3 10s. or £4 10s.

"Hold, Bagot, there 's a Portague to drink."
Sir John Oldcastle.

"Yes, I 've a portague I have kept this half-year."
Ben Jonson, *Alch.*, Act I. Sc. I.

It was very common in this country, and principally on those parts of the coast addicted to smuggling. Bristol did a large trade with Portugal so early as the fifteenth century.

erected by Abbot Elyot, whose arms and initials with mitre and crosier are on them.

The screen, which thus came from the Carmelites or White Friars, on whose site Colston Hall now stands, is in general character of older date than Henry VIII., though variations in the workmanship of the details point to some patching up to fit its new position. The Royal arms of Henry VIII., which are alone on the door leading from the south aisle to the retro-choir, are on the organ screen, now at the back of the southern sedilia, supplemented by those of Prince Edward with the coronet and plume of ostrich feathers and the initials P.E., indicating the date of the re-erection of the screen to be between 1542 and 1547, the accession of Edward VI. The only Renaissance character is that of the semicircular arch, which may have been adapted later on in 1561, when Queen Elizabeth ordered the tabernacles for images in the fronture of the rood-loft to be defaced and hewn down, "and afterwards to be made a playne wall wth morter plast^r^ or otherways and some scriptures to be written in the places." Painted figures of the twelve minor prophets took the place of the images, and fragments of the word Haggai occur on the westernmost panel of the south side as the last remaining relic of this change.

THE DATE OF WANSDYKE.

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For forty years after the publication of the article on "Belgic Ditches"[1] in 1851, by Dr. Guest, his conclusion that Wansdyke marked the last frontier of the Belgic province was generally accepted; though it must be confessed that this acceptance was due rather to the reputation of the learned writer than to the cogency of any arguments to be found in the article. In 1889 and 1890, however, General Pitt Rivers cut sections in the dyke near Devizes, and gave his opinion as the result of what he found that Wansdyke, in that district at any rate, is a work of Roman or post-Roman age. And probably few people who will take the trouble to go carefully through what he says on the subject in his book on *Excavations in Bokerly Dyke and Wansdyke* will doubt the correctness of his conclusion.

But the period stated, Roman or post-Roman, is more than a sufficiently wide one, and it will be well to quote at length what General Pitt Rivers said with regard to the possible age of the dyke; the passage will be found on pages 29 and 30 of his book, which will be quoted in this paper as *Excavations*. After discussing the possibility that Wansdyke was constructed by Aulus Plautius in 43, with regard to which he remarks that the only objection he can see to the supposition is that the Roman frontier at that time lay far in advance of Wansdyke, he proceeds: "We must also not altogether overlook the possibility of such an entrenchment having been thrown up during the troubles of the year 208, when the Caledonians penetrated far into South

[1] *Archæological Journal*, viii. 143.

Britain, necessitating the presence of the Emperor Severus himself to put a stop to their inroads. We must consider also the possibility of the Wansdyke having been constructed by the Romanised Britons, after the departure of the Romans, as a defence against the Picts and Scots, when the Britons were driven into the south-west corner of the country. . . . The Britons must doubtless have learnt the Roman methods of castramentation and defence, and the resemblance of the Wansdyke, in the general principle of its construction to the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, should not be overlooked. Lastly, we must bear in mind that there is nothing in our evidence to disprove the supposition that both these works (*Bokerly and Wansdyke*) may have been thrown up by the Saxons. During the seventh and eighth centuries the wars between the West Saxons and the Mercians continued up to the time of Offa. The great work drawn along the frontier of Wales, to keep the people of that country in check, is attributed to Offa, and it is not impossible that the Wansdyke may in like manner have been thrown up by the West Saxons as a defence against *him*. The frontier between Wessex and Mercia appears constantly to have been shifting, but the line of the Wansdyke represents, more or less, the ordinary boundary that existed between the two tribes. It is true that nothing Saxon has as yet been discovered to support this hypothesis. But our evidence, from the nature of it, fixes only the earliest, and not the latest period, at which these works may have been constructed. Two circumstances appear to me to militate against its being regarded as Saxon. Assuming the origin of the name Wansdyke to be Woden's Dyke, it is unlikely that, if it was constructed by the Saxons, they should have attributed it to Woden; and, secondly, it would appear probable that if so large a work had been constructed by the Saxons, some mention of it would have been made in the Saxon Chronicles."

This is so admirable a piece of historical writing that no apology is needed for the length of the quotation. As an instance of the clear insight of the writer, we may notice that

the remark that the Britons must doubtless have learned the Roman methods of castramentation and defence is illustrated by what Henry of Huntingdon relates concerning the battle fought not far from the line of the Wansdyke, as a result of which Ceaulin was driven from his kingdom in 591: "Cum autem Brittones, more Romanorum, acies distincte admoverent, Saxones vero audacter et confuse irruerent, maximum prælium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Brittannis." A century and a half after the departure of the Romans the Britons, using Roman methods, were victorious. It is true that Henry wrote five centuries after the battle, but he seems to have had access to authorities not now extant.

Wansdyke may be taken to extend from Maes Knoll at the eastern end of Dundry Hill to a short distance south of Chisbury Camp, near Bedwyn Station. It is singular that the parallel of latitude 51° 23′ 30″, which passes through the point where the dyke joins Maes Knoll, also cuts Chisbury Camp at a distance of about forty-two miles and twenty-one yards, though the length of the dyke itself from the north end of the camp to Maes Knoll seems to be about forty-six miles and a quarter—an addition of some 10 per cent. Its course is very direct, the most northern point near Wan's house being less than a mile and a half from a straight line between Maes Knoll and Chisbury, while the dyke at South Stoke, near Bath, is about two miles and three-quarters south of the line. A comparison with the Roman wall is interesting. The distance from Wallsend-on-Tyne to Bowness-on-Solway is sixty-six miles, and the whole length of the wall is about seventy-three miles and a half—also an addition of about 10 per cent. The station *Procolitia* is about four miles and three-quarters north of a direct line between the two extremities of the wall, and Newtown, near Carlisle, is about four miles south of it. The weakest point of Wansdyke is where the valley of the Avon cuts through it between Bathford and Bathampton, and the point where it is said the Scots first pierced or "thirled" the Roman

wall is at Thinlwall, where the little river Tipalt cuts through it at about the same relative point in the line of defence.

With regard to extensions of the dyke beyond Maes Knoll and Chisbury, Collinson takes it right to the Severn: [1] "Descending the Hill (*Dundry*) it crosses Highridge Common, where its tract is still visible, and soon after thwarting the great western road from Bristol to Bridgwater, forms by its vallum a deep narrow lane overhung with wood and briars leading to Yanley-Street in the Parish of Long Ashton. From Yanley it traverses the meadows to a lane anciently denominated from it Wondesdich-Lane, as appears from a deed dated at Ashton 3 Edw: II. (1310), wherein William Goudulph grants to Adam de Cloptone a cottage with a piece of land adjoining to it in *Aystone juxta Bristole*, situated on the eastern side *Venelle de Wondesdiche*.[2] Here it crosses the Ashton road at Rayenes Cross,[3] and ascending the hill, enters the hundred of Portbury, in the Parish of Wraxall, and terminates at the ancient port of Portishead, above mentioned on the Severn sea."

Collinson was a careful writer, and he was Vicar of Long Ashton, but it must be confessed that few traces, if any, of the dyke can now be found west of Maes Knoll; still, if we accept *Wondesdiche* as representing Wansdyke we must continue it to a point on the Long Ashton road five miles north-west of Maes Knoll. It may be doubted, however, whether for purposes of defence much would have been gained by taking the dyke to the west of that point. Temple Meads Station at Bristol is on the meridian of Maes Knoll, and only four miles north of it, while in old days the tide flowed up the Avon at least as far as Saltford, seven miles above the station. A river with such a tide as the Avon, near Bristol, would surely afford as good a line of defence as any dyke. No traces of the dyke can now be found between Long Ashton and salt water.

[1] *History of Somerset*, iii. 140.

[2] Ex Autog. penes J. H. Smyth, baronet.

[3] A mile and a half westward from the church, ii. 304.

At its eastern extremity the dyke can be traced for a mile and a half from Chisbury Camp; but its direction is changed, it no longer runs east and west, but rather south-south-east, parallel with the ancient road from Cirencester to Winchester, which at this point it is evidently intended to guard. Sir Richard Hoare traced a branch of it along the Berkshire Hills for nearly five miles to the eastward of Chisbury Camp to near Inkpen, and he seemed to have formed the idea that it originally extended to Silchester, around and in the neighbourhood of which place dykes similar to Wansdyke occur, but he was unable to find any trace of it on the ground between Inkpen and Silchester.[1] We notice, however, that an eastward extension to Inkpen would not accord with the very decidedly southern direction taken by the dyke when it leaves Chisbury. It is likely that both Maes Knoll and Chisbury were in existence before the dyke was driven between them over the face of the country.

The dyke varies so much in size and form that no general description can be given of it. Perhaps the section given by General Pitt Rivers, 300 paces west of the point where it joins the Roman road at Morgan's Hill, will give a fair idea of it. Here the rampart rises five feet above the ground on the south and ten feet above the ditch on the north, while an outer bank rises about three feet above the ditch. But sometimes there is no rampart, the natural level of the soil coming to the edge of the ditch, and often there is no outer bank; while along the line of the Roman road between Morgan's Hill and Ashley Wood, in Monkton Farley, there is frequently little more than a slope in the ground down towards the north. The ditch is always to the north of the rampart, showing that the dyke was constructed as a defence against an enemy to the north of it. With regard to the places where the rampart is inconspicuous or absent, the following remarks of General Pitt Rivers are instructive: "I have elsewhere suggested that in places where the dyke passed through a forest, the earthen mound and ditch may

[1] *Excavations*, p. 28.

have been replaced by an abattis of felled trees, no trace of which, of course, remains at the present time. If the Roman road from Marlborough to Bath were made at an earlier time than the dyke, as now appears probable, nothing would be more likely than that in places where it passed through a forest an abattis should have been laid in front of the bank of the road as a defence. But in places where the line of defence left the road, as on the tops of the hills where no trees grew, a deeper ditch and bank would be necessary. This idea must be taken for what it is worth in the present state of our evidence on the subject. It is, however, to be observed that the rampart diminishes in size or is wanting in places where forests may have existed, and that it increases in places where forests are unlikely to have grown."[1] "Abattis are formed of trees cut down and arranged side by side with the branches interlaced outwards and the stems inwards; the branches should be freed from foliage and their ends cut sharp. They may be arranged in one or more rows, so that the fire from the parapet shall sweep along their summits, their stems being firmly fastened by pickets to the ground and partly buried in it; an enemy would suffer great loss while attempting to remove them under fire."[2] It is evident that a defence of this kind would be very effective, and might be provided very quickly in a wooded country.

It will now be well to follow the dyke shortly in its course from east to west. It is in good preservation immediately to the south of Chisbury Camp. Here the ditch is to the east of the rampart, as the dyke is guarding the ancient road in the rear; the top of the rampart is about ten feet above the bottom of the ditch. I could not trace the point at which the dyke left Chisbury, but about a third of a mile west of its northern end, south of a road near a farm with two fine Araucarias, there is a bank with a ditch which looks very much like a degraded piece of the dyke. To the east of

[1] *Excavations*, p. 246.

[2] "Fortification," *Encyc. Britt.*, Ed. ix., vol. ix., p. 422.

Savernake Forest, about a mile and a half west of Chisbury, the dyke is represented in a ploughed field by a slope to the north-east of about four feet in thirty; no doubt the line of defence has been smoothed down by cultivation, but probably it was guarded here by an abattis. The dyke reappears to the west of Savernake Forest, about five miles from Chisbury, crossing the railway from Marlborough to Savernake, continuing for a mile and a quarter; it is then found at intervals to Shaw Farm, four miles south-west of Marlborough. Near Shaw Farm the bank is fully ten feet above the ground to the south of it, and twenty feet above the bottom of the ditch. Where the dyke crosses the Ridgway the bank is only about six feet above the soil on the south, the ditch is about eight feet deep, and its bottom is some twenty-two feet below the top of the bank; there is also a low outer bank about two feet high. Further to the west the bank is as high as it is at Shaw Farm. From this point it can be traced to Ashley Wood above Bathford. Three miles south of Marlborough is a large camp on Martinsell Hill, which with Chisbury six miles distant no doubt protected the road to Winchester, which ran between them.

At rather more than eight miles from Chisbury the dyke crosses the Ridgway at an elevation of 790 feet, and about a mile further on it reaches its highest point of 913 feet, on the high chalk hills to the south of the valley of the Kennet. From a point a little west of this there is a magnificent view of the dyke as it traverses the front of St. Anne's Hill and reappears beyond Shepherd's Shore by Furze Knoll on Morgan's Hill. The distance between the extreme points at which the dyke can be seen at Furze Knoll and Shaw Farm is fully seven miles. It is quite as fine a view as that of the Roman wall from Hot-bank. West of St. Ann's Hill the dyke gradually drops to the road between Calne and Devizes at Shepherd's Shore, only 570 feet above the sea. At this weak point in the line the rampart is no less than thirty-two feet above the original bottom of the ditch. A mile and a half further on, at Morgan's Hill, nearly seventeen miles

from Chisbury, at an elevation of 700 feet above the sea, the dyke joins the Roman road from Speen to Bath, along which it runs for fourteen miles, during which part of its course its elevation is very slight. For the greater part of this distance Braden Forest protected it to the north, and for the last two miles the deep valley of the Box brook.

At Ashley Wood the Wansdyke turned to the south-west and crossed the Avon Valley between Bathford and Warleigh. It is well seen on Bathampton Down passing from the south of the camp; and keeping on the high ground close to the south of Bath, it is well developed for three-quarters of a mile between the Cross Keys on the Midford road, and the turnpike on the Fosse. From Englishcombe it can be traced almost continuously by Stantonbury Camp to Compton Dando; then there is a break of about a mile and a half till it reappears a quarter of a mile east of the North Somerset Railway, about three-quarters of a mile north of Pensford Station. And from this point it ascends the hill to Maes Knoll, which it reaches at an elevation of 600 feet above the sea, twenty-five feet higher than Chisbury Camp.

Thus Wansdyke may be divided into three parts; seventeen miles of trenching, except possibly two or three where the line ran through Savernake Forest, between Chisbury and Morgan's Hill; fourteen miles between Morgan's Hill and Ashley Wood, where spade work would have been light; and finally fifteen miles of trenching between Ashley Wood and Maes Knoll. So that it may be said that, roughly speaking, two-thirds of the distance would have been guarded by entrenchments and one-third by forest.

We may now proceed to consider what we can learn about the date of the construction of the dyke. General Pitt Rivers simply called it Roman or post-Roman, and he does not imply that there is anything in the nature of the work itself to fix its age more closely. He only tells us that it dates from the campaign of Aulus Plautius in 43, or some later period. Two questions arise—first, is the name Wansdyke a mere fiction like Ad Axium or Via Julia,

an invention of some latter-day antiquary? and then, when do we first hear of Wansdyke, name or thing? Both questions can be answered by reference to old English charters, summaries of which are given below:—

I. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, MXXXV.; Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 390. Aug. 19 and Dec. 26. A.D. 825.

quindecim cassatorum in Ætheltune. King Egcberctus to the Cathedral at Winchester. Alton Priors. Boundaries: *be westan wodnesbeorge*. Winton.

Domesday Book, 20 hides. Monks of Winchester.

II. K., *C. D.*, MLXX.; *C. S.*, 566; Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 492. After A.D. 871.

Will of Ceolwen leaving 15 hides at Aweltune acquired by her husband in legal possession with witness of King Alfred to the Cathedral at Winchester. Alton Priors. The same boundaries as in the previous charter. Winton.

III. K., *C. D.*, CCCXXXV.; *C. S.*, 600. A.D. 903.

xx cassatorum in Stantun. Rex Eadward principi Ordlaf. Stanton St. Bernard. Boundaries: thonne ofer wodnes dic. Wilton.

D. B., 20 hides. St. Mary of Wilton.

IV. K., *C. D.*, MCXX.; *C. S.*, 734. A.D. 939. Winton.

Also K., *C. D.*, CCCLXXVIII. Original charter in the British Museum.

xv mansas æt Cynetan in Uferantun. Rex Æthelstanus Wulfswythe ancillæ Christi. Overton by East Kennet. Boundaries: on wodnes dene up to wodnes dic.

D. B., 15 hides. Monks of Winchester.

V. K., *C. D.*, CCCCLXVII.; *C. S.*, 998. A.D. 957.

xx mansas æt Stantune. King Eadwig to Bishop Osulf. Stanton St. Bernard. Boundaries: on wodnes dic. Wilton.

VI. K., *C. D.*, CCCCLXXXII.; *C. S.*, 1053. A.D. 960.

xx mansas in Stantun. King Eadgar to Bishop Osulf. Stanton St. Bernard. Boundaries: on wodnesdic. Wilton.

VII. K., *C. D.*, CCCCLXXXVI.; *C. S.*, 1073. A.D. 961.

Headed: De Suthstoca, particulam quinis subestimatam mansiunculis in Tottanstoc. King Eadgar to the Church of

Bath. South Stoke. Boundaries: Ærest westan northan hyt mærath wodnes dic. Bath.

Not named in Domesday.

VIII. K., *C. D.*, DII.; *C. S.*, 1099. A.D. 963.

duas mansas atque dimidiam æt Stantune. King Edgar to the Decurion Ælfsige. Stanton Prior. Boundaries: on wodnesdic. Bath.

D. B., 3 hides. Abbey of Bath.

IX. K., *C. D.*, DXVI.; *C. S.*, 1164. A.D. 965.

bis quaternis preter semissam mansiunculis in Stantun. King Eadgar to Æscwig, Abbot of Bath. Stanton Prior. Boundaries: oth wodnes dic. Bath.

X. K., *C. D.*, DLXVI.; *C. S.*, 1257. A.D. 970.

Exchange between King Eadgar and Æscwig, Abbot of Bath; the King giving x cassates at Cliftune, and the Abbot 100 mancusses of gold and x mansas at Cumtun. In the boundaries of Cliftune: rihte on wodnes dic. of wodnes dic on fosse streat. This Cliftune must be Lyncombe, south of Bath, for that is the only point at which Wansdyke and the Fosse meet. Bath.

D. B., *Lincuma* 10 hides. Abbey of Bath.

XI. K., *C. D.*, MCIX.; *C. S.*, 699. A.D. 933.

v cassatos secus silvam que appellatur Safernoc[1] æt Motenes oran. King Athelstan to St. Mary's, Wilton. Boundaries: to wodnes dic. Wilton.

With regard to Motenes Oran, Sir R. C. Hoare writes (*Registrum Wiltonense*, p. 40): "I imagine this place to be Oare, situated near Hewish, on the south side of Wansdyke, where there are some very extensive British earthen works." The boundary of Oare does not now touch Wansdyke, but it does run along the entrenchment on Martensell Hill, less than a mile and a half from the dyke, and this may have been regarded as pertaining to Wansdyke. It is not unlikely that the name Martensell perpetuates that of Motenes Ora.

King Athelstan gave the land of ten manentes at Nywantun, and five cassates at Motenes Oran; these appear

[1] This early mention of Savernake Forest is interesting.

in Domesday as 13½ hides and half a virgate at Newetone (North Newnton), belonging to St. Mary of Wilton. It will be seen from the names of the churches to which the estates belonged, given at the end of each charter, that the documents are taken from the chartularies of the cathedral at Winchester and the abbeys of Bath and Wilton; and there does not seem to be any good reason for doubting the genuineness of any of the documents.

We see, then, from the original copy of King Athelstan's grant of Overtown to Winchester in 939 that Wansdyke was in existence at that date, and we see also from the other tenth-century charters that it was in existence also at Stanton St. Bernard in North Wilts, and at South Stoke, Lyncombe, and Stanton Prior in Somerset, that is to say no doubt throughout its whole length, by 970. And we see, too, that it was then known by the same name by which it is known now, and that is a very important matter. We notice also that the name Wodnesbeorge occurs in the Boundaries of Alton Priors both in the charter of Egbert to Winchester Cathedral in 825 and in the Will of Ceolwen after 871. Both Kemble and Thorpe in their Indices take this to represent Wanborough, nine miles away; but the estate is certainly Alton Priors, and *beorg* might well be taken to mean *rampart*. The Wansdyke runs through the parish, and it is tempting to connect the name of the boundary point with the dyke, and so to carry the existence of the dyke back at least another century. However this may be, we may be sure that as the dyke existed in 939 it must have existed in 825, for after Egbert's crushing defeat of the Mercians at Ellendune (Wroughton) in 825 there would have been no need for the West Saxons to construct a line ot defence along their northern frontier; the pressure upon them came from the Danes, and from quite other directions. We conclude, then, that the dyke existed as we know it now in 825.

But to the question, How long did it exist before that time? it is by no means so easy to return a definite answer,

because the documentary evidence which has carried us thus far fails.

We have to question the dyke itself, and we begin at the eastern end. On consulting a map, it will be seen that the Ermine Street runs south-east from Cirencester through Cricklade and over Wanborough Plain, and from thence it takes a more easterly direction to Speen and so to London. We also see that at a point nearly due east of Swindon Station a branch road leaves it for Winchester. This branch runs nearly due south to Mildenhall (*Cunetio*), from which point it takes a more easterly course through Savernake Forest to Winchester. Wansdyke could very easily have been carried in a north-easterly direction from Savernake Forest by Ramsbury for some nine miles, in which case it would have guarded the road to Speen and London. Instead of which it is carried only for some four miles from the Forest, first towards the east and then towards the south, with the plain purpose of protecting the road to Winchester and leaving the road to London unguarded. We should gather, therefore, that to the men who made the dyke the protection of Winchester was a more important matter than the protection of London; in other words, that the dyke is more likely to have been the work of West Saxons than of Romans.

Again, if we consider the relation of the dyke to the boundaries of the parishes through which it passes we are presented with a very singular condition of things. In the fourteen miles from Morgan's Hill to Ashley Wood, for which space the dyke follows the course of the old Roman road, it forms a boundary between parishes for the whole distance; while during its course through North Wilts from Chisbury to Morgan's Hill, and through North Somerset from Ashley Wood to Maes Knoll, it has absolutely no relation at all to parochial boundaries. And there must be some good reason for this condition of things. We know that ancient roads and ancient fortresses and ancient dykes are very frequently followed by parochial boundaries, only in this case of course

the artificial landmarks must have existed before the parochial boundaries were laid down. When, then, we find that the central third of Wansdyke where it follows the Roman road is a parochial boundary for its whole length, and the two extremities are nowhere followed by parochial boundaries, we are driven irresistibly to the conclusion that the Roman road existed before the parochial boundaries were laid down, but that the parochial boundaries as we now see them existed before Wansdyke was brought into existence. The Great Western Railway passes over the country from Bristol to Bedwyn regardless of the boundaries of parishes, and we should take the fact as a proof that the boundaries existed before the railway, which otherwise would have formed an admirable line of division. And the argument is no less cogent with regard to Wansdyke, which was probably made some twelve centuries before the railway.

As the West Saxons certainly divided out the district according to their own plan, calling the lands after their own names, if we can determine the date of the conquest of the district we shall not be far off the date of its settlement and the marking out of the parochial boundaries. And it is not difficult to fix the date of this conquest. The Old English Chronicle tells us that in 552 Cynric fought with the Britons in the place which is called Searobyrg (*Old Sarum*), and put the Bret-welsh to flight; that in 556 Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Britons at Beranbyrg (*Barbury Camp*, above Swindon); and that finally in 577 Cuthwine and Ceawlin slew three British kings at Deorham (*Dyrham*), and took three fortresses (*ceastra*)—Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath-amchester. North Wilts then, we may be sure, was colonised between 552 and 577, and it is very likely that North Somerset was also colonised after the capture of Bath; it follows, therefore, that Wansdyke cannot have been constructed till after 552. But we may be sure also that it was not constructed for at least seventy years after that date, because until after 620 the career of the West Saxons was one of unbroken conquest and extension, and there would

have been no need to construct the dyke. In 571 Cuthwulf had defeated the Britons at Bedford and captured Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham. In 584 Cutha and Ceawlin by their victory at Fethanleah had carried the West Saxon frontier probably to the Forest of Arden. In 614 Cynegils and Cuichelm defeated the Britons with great slaughter at Beandune, no doubt Bampton in Oxfordshire. So that in 620 the West Saxon realm would have extended from the Isle of Wight on the south, the Severn on the west, the Forest of Arden and across to the Ouse by Bedford on the north, and down to the borders of Surrey on the east, a territory about 120 miles long and eighty miles wide. Soon afterwards came the blundering crime which brought ruin on the West Saxon realm for many a long year, and which, followed by disaster after disaster, laid it within twenty years absolutely under the power of the Mercian King.

We see, then, that as we may be fairly sure that Wansdyke was in existence by 825, and that it can hardly have been thrown up before 626, the date of its construction must most likely fall in the intervening two centuries, at some period when the West Saxons were depressed and needed protection against Mercian attacks. It is likely that the West Saxons continued to hold what is now Oxfordshire until well on into the eighth century, and that the fights at Somerton in 733, at Burford in 752, and at Bensington in 777 mark successive steps in the advance of the Mercian frontier; but in any case the long line of chalk hills would have formed a sufficient protection on the east. From Avonmouth, however, to the chalk hills near Marlborough there was really no natural protection at all for the West Saxons above the tideway of the Avon except the forest of Braden, while the Mercian boroughs of Cirencester and Bath afforded excellent points from which attacks on Wessex could be launched along the Fosse and Ermine Street. The ancient road from Cirencester to Winchester led straight from Mercia to the West Saxon capital. Further, the high chalk hills on the south of the valley

of the Kennet afforded the best line of defence if the West Saxons were driven to bay, for the flat valley of the Thames would give little advantage to defenders. It is evident, however, from the fight at Kempsford in 800 that the Thames formed the boundary between the two nations at that time. Supposing, then, that Wansdyke was constructed by West Saxons as a defence against Mercians, we see that it was a well-planned line of defence built with the least expenditure of labour, because Braden protected it for a third of its length.

We now proceed to consider whether we can find a time within the two centuries indicated suitable for the construction of the dyke. On April 19th, 626, Eumer, who had been sent by Cuichelm, King of the West Saxons, for the purpose, tried to murder Edwin, King of the Northumbrians; he slew Lilla, a thane, and Forthere, a soldier, and wounded the king. On his recovery Edwin marched southward, no doubt along the Riknild Street, which ran from Aldborough-on-the-Ure to Bourton-on-the-Water, where, under the name of Buggilde Street, it joins the Fosse. It is likely that he met the West Saxon host at this point; and he certainly inflicted a crushing defeat upon them, slaying five kings and a great number of people. No acquisition of West Saxon territory would have been of any value to him, but two years later Penda, King of the Mercians, improved his opportunity, fought with the West Saxons at Cirencester and made a treaty. There is no record of war between the Mercians and West Saxons for the next seventeen years; but when in 643 Kenwalk succeeded to the throne of the West Saxons he put away the sister of Penda whom he had married, and was therefore by that king driven from his throne in 645. It was at this time, no doubt, if not in 628, that Bath and Cirencester and their neighbourhood came into the power of the Mercians.

Kenwalk fled to the court of Anna, King of the East Angles, where he was baptised, and where he remained

for three years. In 648 he would have returned, and in that year the Chronicle tells us: "*Her Cenwalh gesalde Cuthrede his mæge iii thusendo londes be Æscesdune*"—"At this time Cenwalk granted to Cuthred his kinsman three thousands of land by Ashdown." It seems likely that this entry refers to the construction of Wansdyke. It will be noted that neither the Parker nor the Peterborough Chronicle mentions what the units of the land-grant were, though the MSS. B and C insert the word *hida*—hides. But both these are comparatively late authorities. The Manuscript B may be dated about the year 1000, and the Abingdon copy, C, about the middle of the eleventh century.[1] Ethelwerd, writing about the end of the tenth century, simply paraphrases the Chronicle: "Cenuualh propinquo suo Cuthredo tradidit ex prædiis suis tria millia adjacentia colle qui vulgo dicitur Escesdune." The earliest authorities, therefore, give no idea of the extent of the unit of the land-grant. It is quite true that instances can be found in the Old English paraphrase of Bede of the elliptic use of the phrase with the sense of hides,[2] but even this paraphrase is 250 years after Kenwalk's grant. The extent of the unit is quite indeterminate,[3] and the passage has been a difficulty to successive interpreters of the Chronicle. It is perhaps worth noting that if we take the unit to be an acre it would give a breadth of about 160 yards along the whole length of the dyke. Ashdown is, of course, the great mass of chalk downs in North Wilts and Berkshire, between Ilsley and East Kennet, along the edge of which the Ridgeway runs, and which shelters the eastern end of Wansdyke, as the tidal Avon covers it on the west.

But apart from the interpretation of this passage, the return of Kenwalk would be a very natural occasion for the construction of the dyke. Cirencester, hostile probably since 628, was less than sixty miles from Winchester, with

[1] Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii., xxix., xxxi.

[2] *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii. 23.

[3] Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 154, note 6.

a direct road between the two places, and it was absolutely necessary that the way to it should be strongly fortified. Moreover the construction of the dyke would not have been so heavy a matter as it seems; for the trenching only extended over some seventeen miles in North Wilts and fifteen miles in North Somerset. If Kenwalk called out the West Saxon *fyrd* and set them to work at it, the task might well have been accomplished in two years. With regard to the Roman wall, "from calculations that have been made, founded upon the experience gained by the construction of the vast works connected with modern railways, and supposing ten thousand men were employed upon it, it is considered that, in the existing conditions of the country at the time, the *Vallum* and the *Murus* could not be reared, even supposing the labour to have been uninterrupted, in a shorter period than two years."[1] On the one hand, the construction of Wansdyke would have been a very much lighter task than that of the Roman wall with its *vallum;* on the other hand, the Roman legionaries, no doubt with native labourers under them, would have turned out much better work than the West Saxon *fyrd* could produce. Besides which the legionaries could work continuously, while the *fyrd* could only be called out for a definite time.

It may be taken as certain that a Mercian king would not willingly sit still while the West Saxons were barring him out; and here again the circumstances of the time lend probability to the idea that the dyke was constructed soon after 648. Bishop Stubbs writes: "Penda never relaxed in his hostility to Northumbria; Bede mentions two expeditions, one in the time of Bishop Aidan, in which he besieged Bamborough, and another in the time of Finan (*H. E.*, iii. 16, 17). These inroads seem to fall between 645 and 652."[2] Kenwalk might well have seized an opportunity while Penda was occupied in Northumbria to construct the dyke. But it is likely that in 652 the Mercian king was south again, for

[1] *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, Ed. 1895, p. 37.

[2] *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 302.

the Chronicle tells us that in that year Kenwalk fought at Bradford-on-Avon. Ethelwerd calls this fight *bellum civile*, as he calls the fight between Egbert and Beornwulf at Ellendune in 825 *bella civilia*; and a civil war waged by Kenwalk at Bradford-on-Avon could only be against the Mercians. We have seen that the weakest point of the dyke was at the point where the Avon cuts it between Bathford and Bathampton, not only on account of the natural features of the country, but also because the Mercian king could husband his resources at Bath till it suited him to make an attack. If Penda found the dyke in being, and wished to force it, an attack up the Avon Valley would seem to suggest the readiest road to success. It this were so the attack seems to have failed.

In 661 the Chronicle tells us that Kenwalk fought at Posentesbyrg, wherever that may be; also that Wulphere, son of Penda, plundered as far as Ashdown and in the Isle of Wight, and that he gave Wight to Ethelwald, King of the South Saxons. Bede (*H. E.*, iv. 13) adds the Meonwaras, or inhabitants of the Valley of the Meon, to the gift. Wulphere would seem to have come to East Hampshire and down the Valley of Meon to Wight. This would have been his natural course if he went up over Wanborough Plain and along the old road towards Speen and then to the south. He would have avoided the dyke by passing to the east of it. We are told that Cuthred died in this year, very likely in battle against the Mercians. With regard to the locality of Posentesbyrg, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, in a letter dated October 25th, 1904, suggested that it is now represented by Postlebury, in the parish of Cloford, near Frome. The old road from Uphill to Old Sarum must have passed within a mile of this point in its course between Beacon Hill and Maiden Bradley, and it lay on the north-western edge of the Forest of Selwood. Accepting the identification, we should suppose that Wulphere marched from Bath up the valleys of the Avon and Frome with the intention of passing along the

ancient road by Old Sarum to Winchester, but that he was met and defeated by the West Saxon forces on the edge of Selwood Forest. This happened at Easter, which fell on March 28th in that year. Later in the year no doubt Wulphere marched from Cirencester over Ashdown and as far as Wight. It would thus seem that an unsuccessful Mercian invasion from Bath was followed by a successful one from Cirencester.

In 675 we are told that Wulphere and Æscwine fought at Biedanheafde, which is taken by Mr. Plummer to be Bedwin. If this identification is correct, Wulphere was caught in an attempt to pass close round the eastern end of the dyke, and he most likely lost his life in the attempt, for his death is recorded in this year. In 715 Ine and Ceolred fought at a place which the Parker Manuscript calls Woddesbeorg, and the Peterborough Manuscript Wodnesbeorg; this has generally been taken to be Wanborough, but we see from the Winton Charter of 825 that it may very well have been at the point where Ridgeway crossed Wansdyke by Alton Priors. The last fight that we can definitely place on Wansdyke occurred in 1006, when the Northmen marched on a career of plunder through Hampshire to Reading, Wallingford and Cholsey, then along Ashdown to *Cynetan*, where they defeated the *fyrd* which had been called out to meet them, and so by Winchester back to their ships. *Cynetan* has been placed at Kintbury, but it is much more likely to mean East Kennett, where Ridgeway crosses Wansdyke, on which probably the *fyrd* had been posted to withstand the invaders.

We see, then, that supposing Wansdyke to have been constructed immediately after the return of Kenwalk in 648, the positions of hostilities between Mercia and Wessex seem to have a clear relation to the line of the dyke. In 652 Kenwalk fought a battle in a civil war at Bradford-on-Avon, an attack from Bath up the valley of the Avon being apparently the easiest way of piercing the dyke. In 661 Wulphere seems to have passed wide of the dyke on the east, but in 675, trying to slip close by its eastern extremity,

he met with resistance and was apparently slain. The fight in 715 may have been either at Wanborough or where Wansdyke guards Ridgeway.

We now proceed to consider whether what is now North Wilts was in the latter part of the seventh century under the power of the Mercians or the West Saxons, and we turn naturally to the history of the minster at Malmesbury. We are in the habit of regarding this great church as peculiarly West Saxon; but as the Bishop of Bristol has shown, it was in its early days quite as much a Mercian as a West Saxon foundation, receiving gifts from the kings of both peoples. This point will be clear from the following list of early Malmesbury Charters :—

K., *C. D.*, XI.;* *C. S.*, 37. Aug. 26, A.D. 675.

Charter of Leutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons, to the Priest Aldhelm of land to build a monastery.—L.

C. S., 54. A.D. 680.

Grant by Cenfrith, Earl of the Mercians, of x cassates at Wdetun to Abbot Aldhelm, with consent of his lord King Ethelred.—W. M.

K., *C. D.*, XXII.;* *C. S.*, 58. A.D. 681.

Grant by King Ethelred, of the Mercians, at the request of Cenfrith and the prayer of the brethren at Malmesbury of xxx cassates to the west of the public street and xv others near Tetbury.—L.

Marked *Niuentun*, Long Newnton.

K., *C. D.*, XXIII.;* *C. S.*, 59.

Grant by King Ethelred of the Mercians of xv cassates near Tetbury.—L. Boundaries of *Cherletone*, Charlton.

K., *C. D.*, XXIV.;* *C. S.*, 63. Aug., A.D. 682.

Grant by Cedwalla, King [of the West Saxons], of xxxii cassates at Kemele.—L. Kemble.

K., *C. D.*, XXVI.;* *C. S.*, 65. July 30, A.D. 683.

Grant by Berhtwald *rex*, *regnante domino*, of xl cassates at Sumerford.—L.

K., *C. D.*, XLVIII.; *C. S.*, 103. A.D. 701.

Ina, King of the Saxons, xlv cassates; v at Iserdun, xx

where the stream Corsaburn rises, in another place near the same stream x, and near the brook which is called Redburna x.—L. Garsdon, Corston, and Rodborne.

K., *C. D.*, XCIV.;* *C. S.*, 170. A.D. 745.

Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, x mansiones in Wdetun.—L.

K., *C. D.*, CIII.; *C. S.*, 185. A.D. 758.

Kinewlf, King [of the West Saxons], xxx manentes where the streams Meardaeno and Reodburna join.—L.

K., *C. D.*, CLXXIV.;* *C. S.*, 279. A.D. 796.

Egeferth, King of the Mercians, restores xxxv manentes at Piertean, which his father Offa had stolen from the Abbey.—L. Purton.

All these documents are given by William of Malmesbury, who wrote not later than 1145, while those marked with an *L* are found in a Malmesbury chartulary written in the time of Richard II.; and they mark the tradition of the abbey in the middle of the twelfth century with regard to the sources from which the estates came to it. The documents marked with a star were regarded by Kemble as doubtful, but it does not therefore follow that the information contained in them is false. We may take it that certainly from the time of Egbert onwards the minster had been in Wessex, and it is unlikely that the monks would have attributed their earliest endowments to Mercian kings unless they had really been so given. We see, then, that to Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and his nephew Berhtwald, an under-king in the same realm, who sheltered St. Wilfrid in 680, are attributed gifts of land at Charlton and Somerford, in North Wilts, as well as at Long Newnton, in Gloucestershire. We notice also that, apart from the grant by Cedwalla attributed to 682, all the earlier grants are Mercian, and all the later grants, except the restitution of Purton by Ecgferth, are West Saxon. Unfortunately, no grant is attributed to the period between 683 and 701; but so far as these Malmesbury Charters may be taken as evidence, they show that in the early part of the reign of

Ethelred the minster received endowments from Mercia rather than from Wessex, and therefore that it probably stood on Mercian territory. How far the Mercian boundary lay beyond Malmesbury there is no evidence to show, any more than we can tell how it was that Malmesbury came under West Saxon influence in the days of Ine, who became king in 688; but that this boundary lay then further south than it does now is clear. Malmesbury lies about thirteen miles north of the dyke; Little Somerford about two miles less.

With regard to the name of the dyke, we have seen that it was known as Woden's from the earliest times at which we can trace its existence. And this need not mean that our forefathers attributed it to Woden, but rather that the West Saxons themselves constructed it as a defence against the Mercians, and called it by the name of Woden, who was considered to be the protector of boundaries; and this dedication would still have been possible in 648. As against Penda, who was the last great mainstay of the old English heathenism, the West Saxons might still have hoped that it would have its influence; while Christianity can hardly yet have obtained a controlling power among the West Saxons. It is true that Bishop Birinus had begun his missionary work among them in 634, and that their King Cynegils was one of his earliest converts; but Bede[1] relates the death of Birinus before that of Cynegils in 645, and Kenwalk did not become a Christian till after his accession to the throne, while he was an exile in East Anglia. After his return in 648 a Gallic bishop named Agilbert came from Ireland, but as he never seems to have learned the language of the West Saxons he can have had little or no influence over the people. Though Bede tells us that Birinus, working from Dorchester on the Thames, built many churches and turned many people to the Lord, we may well think that by far the larger number of the West Saxons were still heathen in 648, and would be likely to call their great boundary

[1] *H. E.*, iii. 7.

dyke by the name of Woden. If this were so Wansdyke has a very real historic interest, as being the last great abiding mark left by an expiring heathenism on the face of the country. We may, however, take it as fairly certain that the name of Woden would not have been applied to the dyke in or after the time of Ine and St. Aldhelm; and as we have seen that it can hardly have been constructed before 626, so we can scarcely place it later than 700.

Concerning the part of the dyke between Spye Park and Ashley Wood, it is generally inconspicuous in this section of its course. General Pitt Rivers gives sections of it from Chisbury as far as the Melksham Canal, and again from the Fosse to Stantonbury;[1] but there is nothing to show what it is like between the Avon at Melksham and the same river at Bathford. South of Laycock, on the road to Melksham, it is represented by a low slope on the north of the hedgerow which forms the parish boundary, while between Chapel Knapp and Whitley a slight slope on the south of the hedge is the only sign of it. It is, however, well developed for a considerable distance to the south of the house in Neston Park, and it seems to be traceable on the north of the wood to the west of the road between Box and Atworth. A quarter of a mile south of the crossing of the roads near Hatt House its ridge can be discerned on the sky-line east of the road, and to the west it is marked by a slope on the north of the hedgerow. It can be detected as a broad low ridge in a field to the west of the road between Kingsdown and South Wraxall, but between Kingsdown and Monkton Farley it can hardly now be traced, though a gate probably marks the ancient course of the Roman road. It reappears in the low ground east of the Avon, rather more than half a mile south of Bathford Church. It is likely that the whole of this district was heavily wooded in early days. In Mediæval times Braden Forest stretched from the Thames to near Wootton Bassett, and from the

[1] *Excavations*, 248, 249.

Ray to beyond Braden Pond, but the name Bradenstoke marks a much further extension to the south and west; while in Domesday great masses of woodland are attributed to the king's manors of Chippenham, Corsham, and Melksham, and to the Sheriff Edward's manor of Lacock.[1] The ground rises gradually from an elevation of 132 feet at the road near Lacock to one of 530 feet near Monkton Farley, and it would seem that though to the east of Neston the dyke is indistinct, it can generally be traced to the west of that point. Probably the wood became thinner as the elevation increased and the soil became more dry.

We see, then, with regard to the date of Wansdyke, that it was certainly in existence under its present name in 939, and probably in 825. On the other hand, the fact that although the portion of its course where it follows the Roman road is a parish boundary for its whole length, its two extremities in no place form boundaries of parishes, shows that these extremities are later in date than the boundaries. But the boundaries cannot be earlier than the colonisation of the district by the West Saxons, a process which, according to the Chronicle, occurred in the last half of the sixth century; while the fact that the growth of the West Saxon realm was continuous until 626 to a point far beyond Wansdyke would seem to show that the rampart is not likely to have been erected before that date. We may perhaps narrow the limit of two centuries rather more by the consideration that the name *Wansdyke* is not likely to have been given to the work after about the end of the seventh century, when under the influence of Ine and St. Aldhelm Christianity was generally accepted by the men of Wilts and Somerset. Within the two centuries following 626 it would not be easy to point to a more likely period for the erection of the dyke than that following the return of Kenwalk in 648, and we shall probably not be far

[1] There are useful papers by the late Canon Jackson on the forests of Braden and Selwood in the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxiii., pp. 162–165, 268–294.

wrong if we think that it was constructed by Cuthred in the four years following that date.

It may seem strange that a paper on this subject should appear in the *Transactions* of a Mercian Society, but Wansdyke is a work of national and not merely of local interest. If it was constructed by West Saxons, on West Saxon territory, the Mercians were the moving cause of its construction, and at any rate the paper was thought out and written on West Saxon soil.

THE PAINSWICK OR IFOLD VILLA.

By W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY.

In 1868 Roman remains, including an undescribed pavement, were discovered in an 18-acre field on the old demesne-land at Ifold, usually mis-spelled High-fold. There are other 'Ifolds'[1] in England dating from Saxon days. No one seems to have made any available notes of the 'find,' nor is there to hand any contemporary account of what was found or of what was left by the finders. Inquiry after facts has proved well-nigh fruitless.

Ifold Farm is situated, some six hundred yards north of Painswick, and at about the same distance west of the road leading to Gloucester. This town is five miles further northward. Ifold is reached from this main road by a farm-lane of gentle declivity in its first or upper half, possibly on the site of an ancient track. This leads directly down from quarries of valuable local stone,[2] a fact perhaps of importance, seeing that both Roman and mediæval Gloucester have been indebted largely to Painswick for their building stone, as Roman remains at Gloucester prove. The track, however, by which the villa was reached from Glevum must have travelled more directly from Holcombe.

On reaching the gate opening down into Ifold the lane takes a sharp turn to the left for forty yards, and then continues for two hundred yards in its original direction,

[1] Ifield and Ifold occur, both, in Bramber Rape, Sussex. *Cf.* Elwes, *Castles and Mansions of Sussex*, p. 132. Ifeld is another form. We have also Iford, Iffley, and If-ham.

[2] The Duke of Norfolk has used this stone in the church at Arundel with conspicuous success.

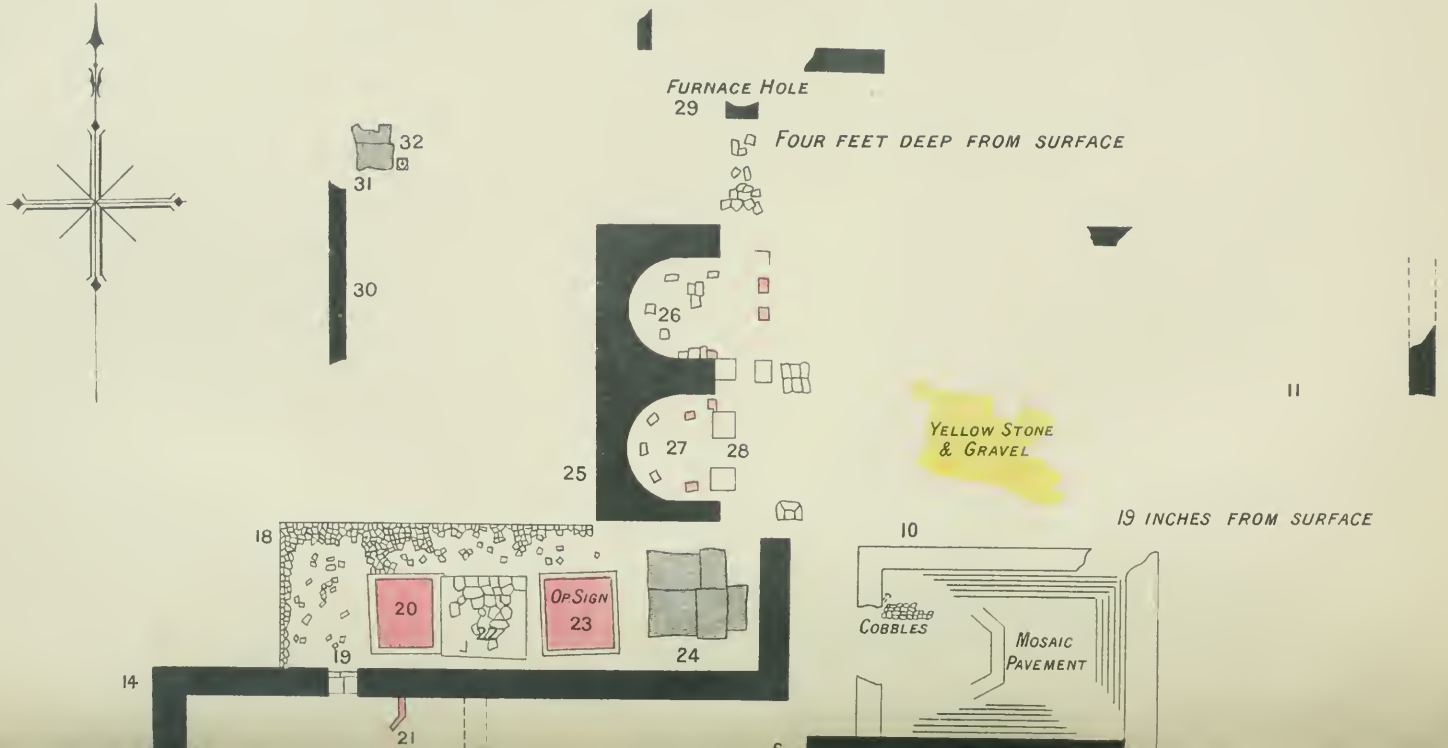
I FOLD
Former hedge
to Painswick Comp

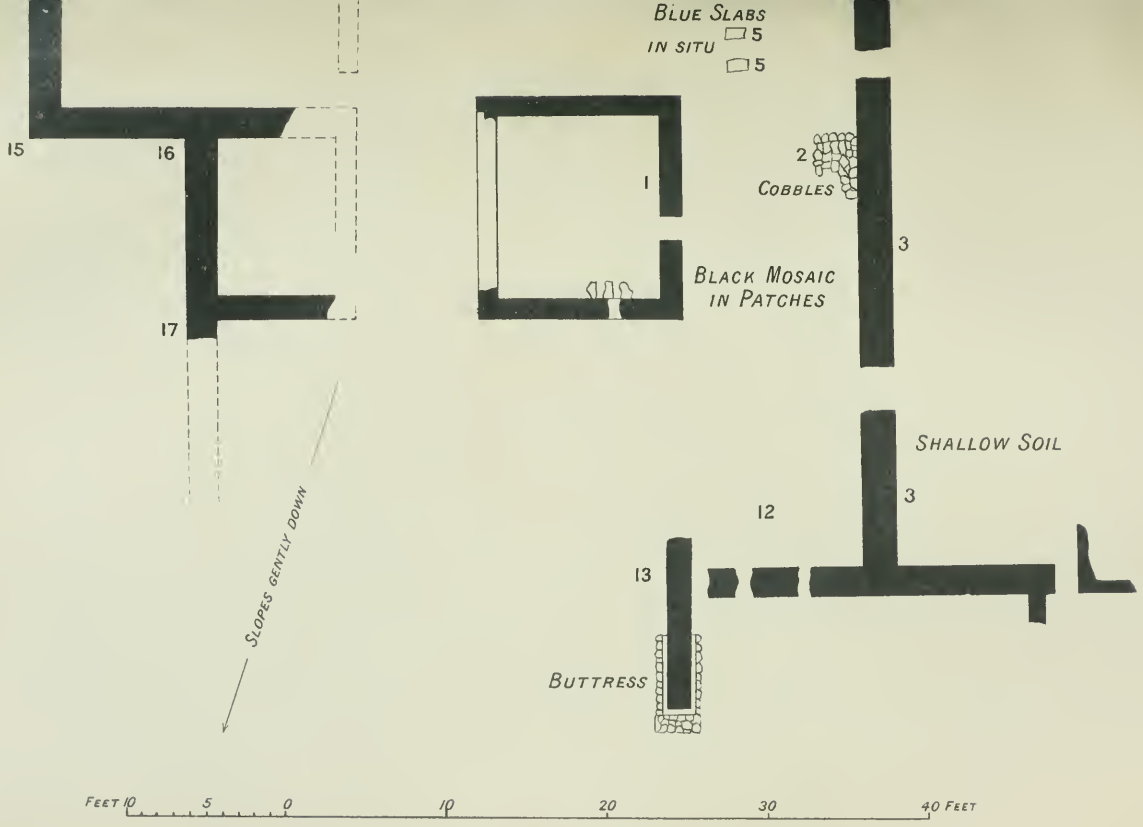
IFOLD VILLA

SCALE

Feet 100 0 100 200 300 400 500 Feet

PAINSWICK VILLA




BLUE SLABS
IN SITU
5
5
15
16
17
1
2
COBBLES
3
BLACK MOSAIC
IN PATCHES
SHALLOW SOIL
3
12
13
BUTTRESS
SLOPES GENTLY DOWN
FEET 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 FEET

and so reaches the farm, beyond which it does not go. It did not always take that turn or quirk.[1]

The field of Ifold[2] forms an irregular polygon. The soil is uniformly rich, and Ifold in mediæval times was in consequence one of the demesne-lands in the Manor of Painswick. The vegetable mould lies about 10 in. in thickness, covering a rich ochreous soil full of calcareous freestone belonging to the inferior oolite of these hills. Cereals and roots form the usual crops raised here.

The situation is commandingly beautiful in character. Immediately south-eastward the ground drops in rich sloping orchards to Blakewell with running water. Westward, again, it drops steeply into another watered and wooded coombe, while northward it maintains a broad level for some four hundred yards before it subsides into lower Holcombe. Due southward for four miles the folding hills west and east descend into the Painswick and Stroud valleys, until the high lands of Rodborough and Minchinhampton superbly close out the southward view.

Four years ago, being anxious to verify the tradition as to Roman remains, by permission of Mr. Bartlett, the present enlightened owner of Ifold, I searched the averred site of them, and soon picked up with an oyster-shell an undoubted piece of Roman brick. The owner later on brought me a small coin found there, which proved to be late Roman (Roma and the Wolf with twins, bronze), and he promised that one day between harvest and ploughing a trench should be opened. One thing and another, however, prevented this contingency until October 18th, 1903, when Mr. Bartlett sent to ask me to come and see some holes he had dug in his field, and on my arrival there I recognised a portion of a Roman wall, much reddened, as Cotteswold and many other stones become by exposure to

[1] The old tithing map, some seventy years old, shows that which is now one spacious field as formerly having been three fields. The villa remains lay then over a hedge from Ifold Farm. This hedge ran up from the angle of hedge and field just adjacent to the site of the Villa.

[2] See plan.

fire. It exemplified, in fact, the usual story, *i.e.* a burned villa. It is commonly held that the triumphant Saxons set fire to every Romano-British town and villa they met with. In many instances this may have been the case, and especially where resistance was offered. The amount of timber used in these villas was, of course, considerable, and some destructions by fire may well have been accidental. At any rate, here was a fresh example. The courtesy of the proprietor permitted me to begin examination by means of pick and spade without further delay. This continued until mid-January, 1904.

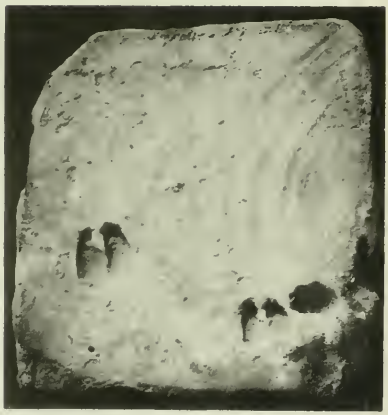
On October 20th we started following the exposed portion of a wall with a trench 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and within 2 ft. from the surface we came upon quantities of finely-cut hexagonal stone[1] slats 18 in. in length, with large iron nails still remaining in the head-holes. This wall runs from north to south.[2] Within two hours from commencement we had cleaned corners N.E. and S.E. of a chamber,[3] which proved to be isolated, measuring 10 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 6 in., full of burned timber and débris, with rough pottery belonging to kitchen utensils, including a portion of a cullender and a bottom of a red-glazed pot having a good potter's stamp designed as a wheel of eight spokes, such as has been found in Gallo-Roman remains not infrequently, and measuring $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter. Between the spokes are round dots (see Fig. I.). A cold chisel 6 in. long, with a blade breadth of $\frac{3}{4}$ in., next turned up, and several more iron nails. In the course of the day was found also a tile $\frac{7}{10}$ in. thick bearing a greenish-yellow glaze (often regarded as mediæval, but in reality Roman also), with some fragments of pale-yellow pottery with external black glaze. The fire which had prevailed had burned with especial fierceness here; slats and stones lay thick in a general bed of sooty soil. Small lumps of 'opus signinum' also occurred; but whenever the spade reached the floor-level mortar-gravel was found without pavement. The

[1] Forest stone. [2] No. 1 on plan. [3] No. 1 on plan.

DECANTER.

HANDLE OF AMPHORA.

POTTERY STAMP.



TILE WITH IMPRESS OF YOUNG PIG'S FOOT.

II. IFOLD. FLUE-TILE, STAMPED R(ES) P(UBLICA) G(LEVENSIUM).

paving flags, if any were here, had therefore been removed. On the east side of the room, however, three or four broken flags were cleared in site, with a drain-hole running out through the wall (south) between two of them. A few animals' bones occurred above them belonging to pigs and sheep, and some oyster shells. The walls in most parts had been destroyed to the footings. The west wall was nearly obliterated. Slightly north of the middle, in the east wall, a well-defined rough step and doorway, much burned, was cleared, and work was continued forthwith outside (east) the latter. The measurement of this isolated room proved to be 10 ft. 6 in. N.—S. by 9 ft. 6 in. E.—W., with a uniform wall-thickness of 1 ft. 5 in.

As the ground falls gently westward and southward over the entire site it was to be expected that where parts of the Villa must have cropped out, ploughing operations during centuries, and general exposure, must have destroyed them considerably; for the superficial soil would naturally become thinner over these, and the ploughshares will have torn the stones out of position, scored and scattered them.

Next day and the following gave work, for the stone slats (19 in. by 11½ in.) lay very thickly, and the walling stones lay everywhere scattered among them. At 6 ft. east beyond the doorway (No. 2) a rough but well-set pavement of large cobbles was now met with lying *in situ*, on the top of which lay a neat mortarium (quern), 13 in. diameter, upside under, and its exposed side (bottom) only was brightly reddened by the action of fire, but its other side not at all, as if the fire had passed and burned over it. It was unbroken, well-formed, and showed a shallow pouring lip.[1] It has a depth of 4 in., and its inner depression measures 1 in. At 8 ft. east was found a satisfactory 2 ft. wall running north and south (No. 3). The cobble-pavement, being now cleared, gave out at 7 ft. southward. As it presented a fairly well-laid appearance, albeit rough, it was to be recognised as late Romano-British work. Lifting a portion of it, when com-

[1] *See* photo of group of objects, III.

pletely cleared and swept, numbers of the original large hexagonal tiles were lying beneath it, while a little below these again were found patches (in site) of a mosaic pavement composed of black tesseræ of three sizes.[1] Other tesseræ were wanting, so that considerable alterations in the floor had taken place here. Animal bones were plentiful, but only, as before, in the upper débris.

This fresh wall (No. 3) was presently followed both north and south, and it proved to measure 41 ft., having sharp angles at each extremity showing walls running due west, like those of a small court. A fragment of a curved stone chair-back (?) was met with here.

At a distance—3 ft. north of the above-mentioned cobble-pavement, in the débris, and slightly above it in level—lay portions of a stone column (No. 4), with collarino and typical cap "all of a piece" with it, having a diameter of 9 in. (see Fig. IV.): that is to say, it has been turned on a lathe. Four feet further north, and slightly west, beyond the angle of the previously-explored room, a well-worn large flag of hard grey argillaceous stone lay in site (No. 5), and still further in line (north) with it, at a distance of 6 ft., were two more like it. These lay firmly fixed in rammed gravel above virgin soil. Between them lay (not in site) the much-burned but distinct base of the former column.[2] No mosaic appeared hereabouts. The flags presented well-cut sides, but there came to light no more than these three. The north end of this area, therefore, had been paved with lias flags, while further south it had been paved with dark tesseræ. This might indicate that while some portion of it was closed in from the weather originally, some portion was also purposely exposed to it.

Beyond this the northern wall of this area, or court, brought its western extremity (No. 6), a spur-wall, almost

[1] Here occurred fragments of a patera (black) with diameter $6\frac{7}{10}$ in.

[2] $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. with a depth of $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., and plinth-depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the upper surface much reddened with fire.

III.

IFOLD. MORTARIA, TILES AND SLATS.

into a line with the eastern wall of the isolated room at some 12 ft. to north of it. It rises in three courses of well-cut stones above its footing (see Fig. V.), and measures in thickness 2 ft. (with footing 2 ft. 6 in.). Another object now met with was a large fragment 18½ in. by 9½ in. of a quadrangular stone bearing (raised along its circumference) a deep, sharply-moulded cornice, or frame, as if to contain an inscription; no lettering, however, appeared upon it. A second and smaller fragment was found later on near by; but, although presenting the same mouldings, this gave no further indication of lettering. It must have measured as much as 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft., if indeed it was not square when intact. Near this lay a small oblong box-like tank, likewise of stone, measuring 11½ ft. by 8 in., with an exterior depth of 6 in. and an interior of 5 in.

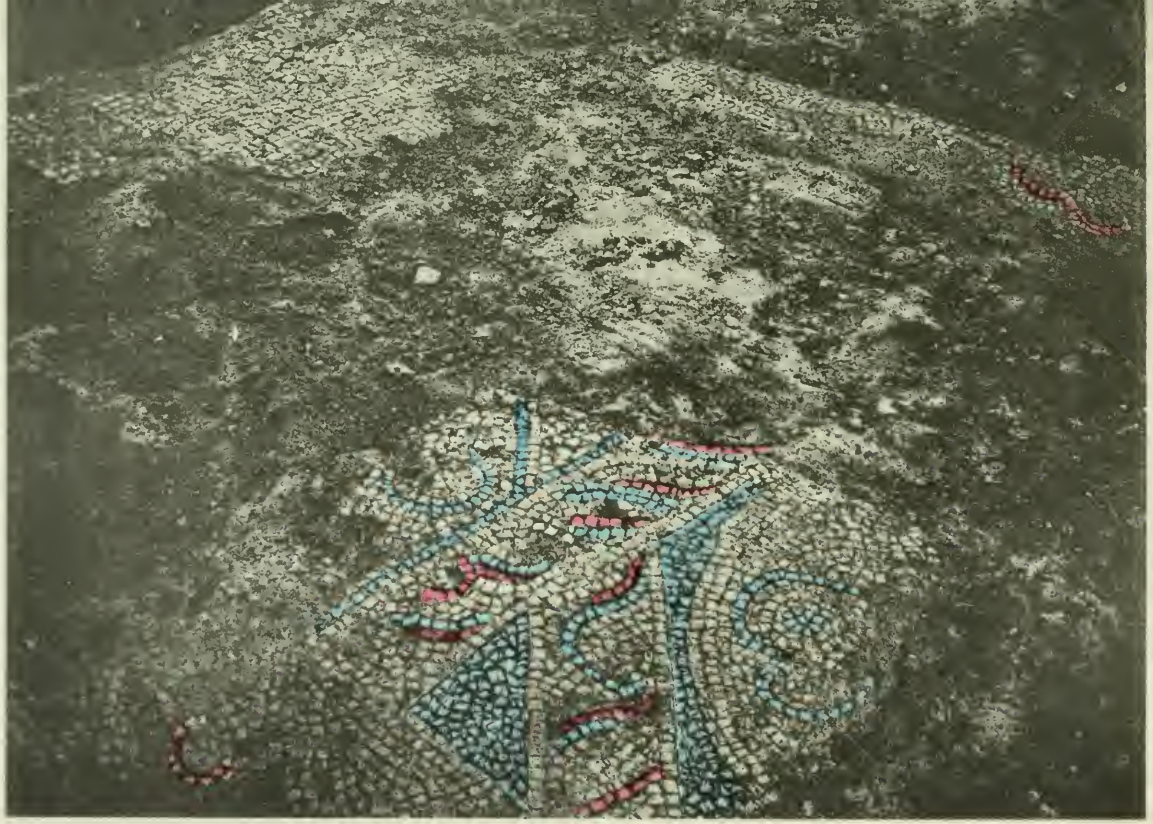
Many iron nails, some of great size (9 in.), and of three varieties, were found; a boar's tusk, and abundance of snails (*Helix nemorosa*). None of these latter were of the kind usually called Roman snails (*Helix pomatia*). The presence of clusters of these oolitic snails (white, with a banded reddish spiral) of varying sizes, in pockets of soil, strongly suggested their hybernation, perhaps in days when the ruins were still covered with overgrowth.

On October 22nd, trenching eastward beyond the upper, or northern, angle of this court, and following on, a wall was found going due east (No. 7), but it gave out at 9 ft., showing signs as of a deliberate uprooting. On the way to that point more fragments of a small (9 in.) lathe-turned verandah column were found (No. 8). It lay parallel (south) with the wall then being followed. These small columns, perhaps, point to a low parapet-wall upon which they stood supporting a tiled lean-to roof, facing westward. Unfortunately (for want of further evidence) the inter-columniations cannot be determined.

Examining the breach of continuity in this last wall, evidences showed that a 1 ft. 8 in. wall had turned sharp northward at this point (No. 9). This indicated the near

presence of a room of considerable size. Turning direct north, then, to follow the line of that vanished wall, red tesseræ soon began to show in site lying in a clean, inviting line, 19 in. below the surface. Here, therefore, is a room with a mosaic floor. The trench was carefully continued for 10 ft. more, until no tesseræ showed themselves on our left. In the afternoon another trench was made so as to follow around the west end of the north court wall. We then worked in eastward, so as to follow that wall on its north side. Having reached the set-off of another broken wall running north at 4 ft. from that western extremity, or spur, it became clear that on the other side of that wall lay the rest of the chamber containing the above mosaic floor. This must have measured, consequently, 15 ft. in length, W.—E.

The mosaic was laid bare (after cautiously skinning the entire surface for 14 in.), at a depth of 19 in. But most of the western half of it had disappeared, and in place of a portion of it, in this side, had been laid down a large patch of rough cobbles bordered E.—W. by a line of upright stones, such as cattle-stalls are provided with. The bedding, or 'rudus,' of the mosaic near it had been trampled out of recognition and stained black with, probably, animal (drainage) matter. At 6 ft. eastward, however, the mosaic began to take up well in larger patches, showing good design (see Fig. VI.); and in direct contact with it, at one point, lay half of the skull of an adult pig. The rest of the room was cleared, and the nature of the mosaic discovered itself to be of combined geometric and scroll type, having a broad chequer border at the east end (in small red and white squares), measuring 2 ft. 3 in. in width, and that was further bound in by a thin band of larger red tesseræ, three deep; the whole being set in a bedding of soft cement 3 in. thick. The tesseræ used here are of three sizes, the largest measuring $\frac{1}{12}$ths of an inch square; the next, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; and the smallest, $\frac{1}{4}$ in. square. Fat and exceedingly long earthworms (11 in.) came up where the tesseræ were wanting. The colours used in the mosaic were three only—



VI. IFOLD. MOSAIC PAVEMENT.

blue, red, and white, made of lias, tile, and Painswick stone (see coloured Fig. I.).

It seemed evident that much of the destruction of this floor may have been wrought by animals; and much also by the heavy stones and tiles which had fallen upon some portions of it. Among these lay fragments of fallen 'intonaco,' excellent in thickness (2½ in.) and firmness of make, having a white ground decorated in panels, with bright red bands (width 1 in.). Few objects, save animals' bones and teeth, were met with, and the iron sheath of a dagger or long knife. The north wall of this room proved to be entirely destroyed; but the edge of the mosaic nevertheless remained quite clear. The spoiler had only required building stone ready-made. Judging from this and the soft layer spread over the mosaic itself, I should conjecture that much stone has been removed methodically from the site at no distant period: possibly to build the neighbouring farm.

The room measured 15 ft. E.—W. by 10 ft. N.—S. Evidences of fire again became prominent, though the pavement itself nowhere showed them; but only the upper soil, as if, perhaps, later wooden sheds which may have taken its place, rather than the original room, had been so destroyed. The lumps of 'intonaco' (wall plaster) were none of them blackened, and their well-mixed colours are still vivid.[1]

Beyond the 'mosaic' room, and adjoining it northward (No. 10), the concrete bedding of a portion of floor only told of another room (No. 11), perhaps of like size; similar traces eastward from this, in shallowing ground, told of yet another but smaller one. One of these had been supplied with a flue from a hypocaust. So far, there was met no trace of any apsidal chamber.

[1] It may be of use to remind those whom it may concern not to obey the rather natural 'instinct' to throw water on a newly-found mosaic. It is often done in order, it is hoped, to clean and make it discover its design. As the setting-bed or 'rudus' is invariably soft, the water loosens further still the only apparently firm tesseræ, and they come away from the design upon the slightest provocation, or on the bottom of the workman's shoes.

It now became roughly possible to estimate the breadth of that which is evidently the western wing of the Villa at 32 ft.; and to mark, once for all, that most of the flags of the court on this side had been taken away; that the roofing tiles had fallen apparently after this; that still later owners repaved portions of it over these fallen slates, &c., who still used the Roman querns; and that these folk and their successors kept plenty of cattle, oxen, sheep, and pigs, in whatever parts of the building they could conveniently turn into sheds, and probably slaughtered them on the spot; finally, that these sheds had been burned, and perhaps some of the cattle in them. The Villa, therefore, would seem to have experienced many vicissitudes. That, apparently, is its historic outline. The latest recognisable coin found there belongs to Constantine the Great (A.D. 312–336).

Meanwhile the court was explored to its southern end (No. 12), and two openings in its wall, much-torn, but possibly both of them doorways, were found; one at 13 ft. from the north end, the other at 6 ft. from the south end. At 41 ft. the southern angle was caught sharply-defined, and its (still) 2-ft. wall being now followed westward, finally gave out to a narrow opening at 3 ft. 6 in. It then took up for 2 ft. more, and gave out with another slightly wider, but sharp, opening (see plan). This E. to W. wall ended in an isolated 2-ft. square base. But 1 ft. east of this a 2-ft. wall (No. 13) was encountered running to S., that is at right angles to it, which soon terminated in a large buttress immediately south of us. This buttress-base footing measures 3 ft. in width, E.—W., and is 6 ft. 10 in. in length. Three courses of it remain. From it a 2-ft. wall holds out straight northward for 9 ft., travelling toward the isolated chamber first-explored. It, however, proved never to have continued so far as that chamber. Its termination, as found, corresponded with the southernmost doorway of the court-wall.

The wall of the court then examined immediately east of the exposed buttress, travelled for 10 ft. 6 in. beyond the

north to south wall, and it then also turned northward, but soon became obliterated in the shallow soil. The shallowness of the soil here, and the action of the plough, had almost destroyed it within 3 ft. of the above turning.

Here were found a piece of the lip of a vase of whitish pottery, painted red, and a fragment of a column smaller in diameter by 2 in. than the previous example, thus measuring but 7 in. instead of 9 in. in diam. Traces of construction, however, extend still east of this in the shallow soil, together with occasional tiles and oyster shells. But nothing is quite determinable there owing to the aforesaid obliteration and scattering.

It is clear that a buttress of large size must have backed the all-important south wall of the court. No trace of any important or wide entrance to the building was found hereabouts, but merely that of a postern.[1] The remainder of the south wall has disappeared.

The chambers above-described in the eastern side of the Villa, proving to have been destroyed (although remains of a wall at the northern extremity of the wing gave the full length of the Villa as 105 ft. N. to S.), it now became necessary to look for the western side of it. This was found (No. 14) on November 16th by striking a trench E. to W. in virgin soil at a guess, and reaching a N. to S. wall with, fortunately, but little waste of labour. This wall proved to measure 2 ft. in thickness, and it was met with close to where it takes an acute turn eastward. Having caught that angular turn at our immediate north, we first of all followed it southward. At 20 ft. 4 in. south of this turn occurred a corresponding turn (No. 15) also directed eastward. This lay in line with the N. wall of the isolated room first explored. At 9 ft. 6 in., nevertheless, this again turned off sharp southward (No. 16), finally gave out at 13 ft., and could not be traced further (No. 17). Turning now to

[1] About twenty yards south, on the lower edge of the sloping field, after rain the ground becomes quagmire, evidently from a spring. Exploration there will probably discover the water-supply of the Villa, perhaps a well. None was found within the Villa itself.

work the inner side of these walls, it became evident that the tiles which lay so thickly were not of the same dimensions with those formerly met with in the eastern side of the Villa, though made of the same material and having the large-headed iron nails remaining in the stud-holes. Numbers of these tiles are perfect, and measure 16½ in. in length by 10½ in. in width. Here could faintly be traced foundations of the walls of three small rooms.

The breadth of the Villa (as at present remaining) is found to be 63 ft. It is a small villa of irregular 'courtyard' type. The first room explored stood out entirely isolated, surrounded and surveyed by segments of long and short verandahs, indenting an unsymmetrical courtyard.

Taking the north side of the W. to E. wall (No. 14) and following it at 8 ft. eastward a clean-cobbled pavement (No. 18) was encountered, and at 11 ft. (No. 19) a clear passage, 2 ft. in width, interrupted the wall. At one foot eastward of this, after having met with several lumps of 'opus signinum' (some presenting a half-round moulding), a well-preserved bath (No. 20), made of the same material, was cleared, measuring 4 ft. 10 in. N. to S. by 4 ft. E. to W., and having its floor made of a large single slab of dark micaceous slate, and its sides more or less perfect, smooth inside, to the height of 16 in. Across the wall south of it was found the red drain pipe (No. 21) belonging to it. A half-round moulding travelled around the base of the bath, and masses of broken 'signinum' lay within it.

North of it, as we proceeded eastward, quantities of coloured and striped wall-plaster occurred, both blue, red, and white, with purple stripe, also a large splash of lead and portions of pots of various makes and sizes, including a fragment of an Aretine (terra sigillata) lid. The level of the bath inside stood 10 in. above the cobbled pavement upon which the structure rises.

Next this bath eastward occurred the solid[1] concreted

[1] Solid, that is to say, to considerably above the level of the floor of the adjacent bath (*i.e.* 1 ft.). Villas so situated were probably well furnished with rain-water tanks.

II. IFOLD. HYPOCAUST No. 26.

IFOLD. HYPOCAUST, No. 27.

base (No. 22) of a square construction, well-built, and possibly made for the purpose of carrying a tank for rain-water. Beside it (north) were found an Upchurch vase[1] without handles. The tiles met with hereabouts were of the smallest or third size found, measuring but 14 in. by 9 in. Here were turned up nineteen voussoir-like cakes of concrete; also portions of a spheroidal stone weight reddened by fire externally, but having a finely-smoothed surface and a diameter of 3 in. It is made of pebble belonging to the inferior lias of the Severn valley. Beyond the supposed tank-turret occurred another bath (No. 23) quite similar to the former one, except that in this the entire floor was likewise made of 'opus signinum,' which was unbroken. It showed the same half-round moulding.

Immediately east, adjoining this, was now laid bare a space 9 ft. by 10 ft. paven (No. 24) with thin large slabs of brown slate-like stone, bound in on the east by a wall running north and south.

Here, therefore, in a band across the centre of the villa lie its baths; and the abundance of tiles and sooty material told that the hypocaust must be close at hand to the north of these. These baths seem to have been entered on the south from the courtyard.

Work being resumed next day at a projecting angle close to the easternmost bath, a good wall (No. 25) was found, and followed along northward for 18 ft., until it gave out. Turning to examine it inside (eastward), I presently found myself standing within an apsidal chamber (No. 26) with stone pilæ, more or less broken, and abundant soot. The pilæ are squared white monoliths just 2 ft. in height. Following round the southern curve of the apsis, the wall soon turned off sharply and led me into a second and parallel apsis (No. 27) of similar dimensions, being 7 ft. wide by 6 ft. in depth. In the latter, side by side with its fellow, the pilæ were all

[1] Height, $5\frac{1}{8}$ in.; diam. top rim, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diam. base, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; circumference of widest bulge, 15 in. wide. Colour, yellow-washed, with black core.

standing untouched, and on the tops of some were square brick tiles. To this communicated a low-arched entrance (No. 28) for the hot air to pass between the two central (or easternmost) pilæ. Here was found a crumpled-up, thin, pewter-pot, handle, neck, and base; a dented piece of chalk,[1] 4½ in. long, 3⅛ in. wide, and 2 in. thick, together with the rim of a Durobrivian pot, with white applied scroll ornament; a little red-painted vase, 4 in. high (Fig. III.); two hinge-bands (iron), 7 in. by ¾ in., 7¼ in. by 1 in.; a fragment of a tiny column made of 'opus signinum,' painted white with a blue stripe; many fragments of plaster (intonaco), having three parallel bands of red, purple, and light blue, divided from one another by white lines, thinner between the red and purple and thicker between purple and blue, the main ground being pure white.

Some tiles from the hypocaust measure 16 in. by 11¾ in. Here also were found two flange-tiles, bearing clearly impressed the hollow letters **R. P. G.** (Respublica Glevensium,[2] *i.e.* Commonwealth of Glevum) (Fig. II.), and on the back of one the marks of the factor's fifteen-toothed metal comb.

The hypocaust being cleared and photographed, the flue, furnace-pit, and stokehole (No. 29) were sought and found—the latter northward at a distance of 30 ft., as indicated in the plan. Eastward from the hypocaust two flues ran to what may have been a triclinium or dining-hall (No. 10), next the mosaic-room. West of the hypocaust numbers of large tiles occurred, and also the neck and one handle of a two-handled glass decanter 4½ in. in height, which has miraculously escaped (see Fig. I.). Besides these were found a large perforated grindstone and another stone quern[3] (the darker one in photographic

[1] Chalk was used by the Romans for whitening shoes and garments, and for keeping talleys, as well as for marking slaves, and victims, 'Hostia'

[2] It may be well to recall here the inscription which shows that Glevum was colonised by Nerva: D.M. M. VLPIO NER. QUINTO GLEVI MIL. FR. LEG. VI. V. CALIDIVS QUIETVS COLLEGA FRATRI OBSERVATO PIISIMO B.M.F.C. (CORPUS INS. LAT. VI. 3346). It is interesting to note how the little communities of even distant provincial centres clung to the old style.

[3] Mortarium.

group of objects), and a pot studded within with broken pebbles for a similar purpose.

At 16 ft. 6 in. west (the virgin soil cropping up higher and higher owing to not having been dug out here for foundations, and probably forming the small vestibulum), a dry wall N.—S. (the only one met with) was found (No. 30) and followed northward. It led to a spot 30 ft. distant from the cross-wall behind (south of) the baths, where were two large rough slabs 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. of forest stone (No. 31). One lay flat and one stood on end; perhaps used once for door-stones, but, as found, suggesting a grave. Near by these lay an octagonal stone base (No. 32), 18 in. diameter, of Painswick stone, carrying (made with it in one) a portion of a column 9½ in. diameter, and drilled (not in the centre) with an octagonal hole designed for a rod or thin post.

It is probable the Villa was entered here from a track at its northern end by a door; but if that was the case the plough has obliterated all but the barest traces of it as well as of the track which led down from what is now Holcombe, to it.

Bones, teeth, and shells of the following animals were found:—

Mussel (*Mytilus edulis*).
Snails (*Helix nemoralis* and *Helix rufescens*).
Whelk (*Buccinum undatum*).
Oyster (*Ostrea edulis*), large and small.
Stag (*Cervus elephas*), points of antler.
Goat (*Capra hircus*), a horn-core and fragmentary skull.
Horse (*Equus caballus*), jawbones, teeth and ribs.
Pig (*Sus scrofa*), jaw, teeth, feet-bones and thigh-bones; and impression of feet on a brick.
Sheep (*Ovis aries*), several bones and two jaws.
Dog (*Canis familiaris*), teeth and bones.
Badger (*Meles*), teeth and cranium.
Weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*), vertebræ and teeth.

Bronze Objects. A thin scale with a small hole in it, 1 in. by 1⅛ in., but with only one true edge.

Two coins—Helmeted Roma; reverse, the wolf and twins. Constantinus (small bronze), Securitas (?) (or Felicitas) Augusti.

WINDOW-GLASS. Two small fragments.

LEAD AND PEWTER. A mass of splashed lead, and a small pewter-pot with triangular-moulded handle.

Base diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., slightly domed.
Height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Mouth diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., with spout-lip.
Handle, 3-sided, $\frac{1}{4}$ in., tapering to top.
Thickness of metal, 1 m.m.

WORKED BONE. One or two fragments showing traces of workmanship, but of no determinable purpose.

BEADS. Six coloured and perforated glass-beads.

IRON. Hinge-bands—

(1) 7 in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
(2) $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 1 in.
(3) $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

A perfect thin horse-shoe ring ending in pierced loops from which hangs an iron single and a double or triangular link; the former passed through the latter. Ring measures 4 in. by $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Perhaps for tying a horse or a serf to in a yard.

The scarcity of coins and fibulæ is remarkable.

A gold ring and other objects were found here in 1868, but have been lost beyond tracing. Rumour has it also that coins were found, but they are not traceable. One, a gold solidus of Valentinian, was offered here four years back as having come from Ifold, but I did not see reason then to credit this.

It is likely that as adjuncts to the villa there were barns or farm buildings. These will be searched for another year with the owner's permission. They should be on the eastern side of it. Search on the western side proved useless. The present farm stands but eighty yards from the rustic-villa.

It is noteworthy that in this Villa all the older materials were of good make: the colours, the bricks, the 'opus signinum,'

the tesseræ and mosaic design, and the walls; doubtless the timbering corresponded. The wall-mortar was everywhere finely sifted. As far as could be disclosed, no wall once built had been altered or re-erected. Only one 'dry' wall, a poor one, was found. With the pavements, as shewn, this was not always the case.

Everything was either good or bad, there was no third character in it. And the general type of the workmanship, together with the letters on the bricks, gave the impression that the Ifold villa may be classed as a probably late second-century Romano-British villa. It is admittedly a difficult matter to obtain necessary elements for forming a comparative standard of style whereby to distinguish precise periods in provincial Roman art. Had this Villa been in Italy, its character in materials might have denoted a slightly earlier date; so good are these.

The most telling feature, perhaps, gathered by the excavator out of this exploration is the care with which the courtyard portions had been tiled with regard to effect. We have, from three separate portions, of lessening dimensions, the three following stone tiles found in them:—

Court (East), length 41 ft.; size 19 in. by 11½ in. tile.
,, (West) ,, 18 ft.; ,, 16½ in. by 10½ in. tile.
,, ,, ,, 10 ft.; ,, 14 in. by 9 in. tile.

The nail-holes occur invariably to the left of the median line of the tile. No wooden pegging as used to-day was employed, but only iron nails of varying size.

The interesting occurrence of stamped bricks belonging to the Colonia of Glevum may be due to various causes: (1) The owner may have contracted with workmen from that city; or (2) he was an official himself of that Colonia; or (3) the territorium of Glevum may, for peculiar reasons, have extended so far as to include the valuable quarry and forest-lands of Painswick; or (4) he may have bought from the city-yards.

ON SOME GLOUCESTERSHIRE MANUSCRIPTS NOW IN HEREFORD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY.

By LANGTON E. G. BROWN.

So many chances have contributed to scatter and destroy the contents of mediæval libraries, that it seems worth while to record any MSS. whose history can still be traced, with a view to the formation of catalogues of all existing MSS. of each locality; for while the architectural relics of the outward life of the past can mostly be studied on the spot, the MSS. which preserve its inner life and thoughts must often be sought in distant libraries, and without such a catalogue their existence may be unknown to the local antiquaries, who would find them of most service.

As a contribution to such a catalogue of Gloucestershire MSS. I have tried to describe some now preserved in our Cathedral Library, two of which formerly belonged to Gloucester Abbey, four or five to its daughter house, St. Guthlac's, Hereford, and one each to the Gloucester Franciscans and the Flaxley Cistercians. I hope in later papers to describe sixteen MSS. that belonged to the Austin Canons of Cirencester, and were in many cases written by them; and also two works by Gloucester authors—"Seventeen Epistles of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester, afterwards Bishop of Hereford and of London" (published from other MSS. in Giles' edition of his Epistles), contained in our MS. P. i. 15; and the "Panormia or Latin Dictionary of Osbern, Monk of Gloucester," contained in P. v. 5: the former of these MSS. belonged to the Hereford Franciscans, the latter to the Abbeydore Cistercians.

The history of the Flaxley MS. is partly shown by its inscriptions; how the others came into our library is unknown. I can only suppose that the two books of Gloucester Abbey had been transferred to its dependency, St. Guthlac's, and the book of the Gloucester Franciscans to the Franciscan house at Hereford (many of whose MSS. are in our library). Such transfers of books to neighbouring houses of the same Order must have frequently occurred. Then at the dissolution of the monasteries in Hereford some of their books may have been brought to the Cathedral Library, as the nearest remaining public library; for Hereford was never a monastic cathedral, so the dissolution did not affect its library, which, though despoiled of its service-books at the Reformation, and perhaps of other more "Popish" books, remained otherwise undisturbed till it was removed to the Ladye Chapel, increased and rearranged early in James I.'s reign. Since then the MSS. have remained substantially untouched in their mediæval bookcase, with the chains which were probably put on them when they were brought to the library, except that some of the more dilapidated books have been rebound, and the whole collection removed early in last century, when the Ladye Chapel was restored, to a chamber above the Cantilupe shrine in the North Transept, and again in 1897 to the present upper library, a room built for them over part of the Western Cloister by the generous bequest of the Rev. W. F. Powell, honorary canon of Gloucester.

The following table will give the best general idea of the outward appearance of these MSS. Those marked * have modern bindings; the others, though they may have been repaired and resewn internally, are still in their plain, ancient covers—boards covered with whitish skin, usually with some brief title on the side or back. The back of O. iii. 1 terminates in small flaps; the sides of O. v. 5 are slightly bevelled or rounded. Most apparently had two clasps, though only O. iii. 1 still retains them. All have chains fixed to the side edge of the cover, so they are

SHELF MARK.	FORMER OWNERS.	CHIEF CONTENTS.	SIZE.	COLS.	LINES.	LEAVES.	DATE.
			Ins.				
O. iii. 1	Gloucester Abbey	Prosper, Augustine, &c.	10 × 6½	1	28	2+159	12th Cty.
*O. i. 2	,, ,,	Bernard, Anselm, &c.	11¼ × 8⅜	2	46-50	5+177	Early 13th Cty.
*P. iii. 2	St. Guthlac's Priory	Epistles, Vita Paulae	9⅞ × 6¾	1	{41, 42 / Vita, 29}	63	12th Cty. (?).
O. v. 1	,, ,,	Genesis with gloss.	12½ × 8½	3	24 (text)	1+93	*Circa* 1200 (?).
P. vi. 1	,, ,,	Gregory on Ezekiel	13¾ × 9½	2	32	1+176+1	,,
P. iv. 5	,, ,,	Stephen Langton	12⅝ × 8½	2	40-42	1+200+1	13th Cty.
P. iii. 5	,, ,, (?)	Bernard, Hugo, &c.	9 × 6½	2	39 50	1+193	Early 13th Cty.
O. v. 5	Gloucester Franciscans	Gregory on Job	11½ × 8	2	43-46	3+324	Late 13th Cty. (?).
*O. iii. 3	Flaxley Cistercians	Raymundi Summa	8¼ × 5¼	2 or 3	36 (text)	2+219	,, or later (?).

placed in the shelves upright with their edges, not their backs, visible.

The shelf mark shows the bookcase, shelf, and volume. In counting the leaves I have not reckoned modern paper flyleaves, nor leaves now stuck to the cover, nor mere fragments of torn leaves. As to the dates I have not the experience to speak confidently, but have tried to give a probable conjecture.

O. iii. 1, which (except the index) is ruled with merely indented lines (not like the others with the marks of a piece of lead), looks the oldest of the MSS., then P. iii. 2; they are written in bold, plain round hands, with initials red or green, mostly plain. P. iii. 5 is in various very small crabbed hands, with plain red or occasionally green initials; the general form of the letters somewhat resembles that of the twelfth century, but I think it may be early thirteenth from the closeness and rigidity of the writing. In O. v. 1 and P. vi. 1 the large, bold round hand of the twelfth century has received greater finish and something of the Gothic spirit; the former, with blue, brown, green, and red initials, I should guess rather before 1200, the latter from its beautiful scalloped and decorated red and blue initials is perhaps rather after that date. O. i. 2 is certainly not later than 1228, probably not much earlier; its writing is small, close, rather round and neat; its red and blue initials show the decorative pen flourishes of the period, which are more elaborate and beautiful in P. iv. 5, a finely-written MS. certainly before 1273. As to O. v. 5 and O. iii. 3, I am more uncertain; the former, by far the finest of these MSS., both in the minute beauty of its illuminated initials, in which deep blue predominates, and the delicate thinness of its vellum, is bound not in quires of eight leaves as the others usually are, but of sixteen or sometimes twelve leaves, yet the quires feel no thicker than in the earlier books. It also differs from the others in which only the quires are numbered, usually on the lower edge of the last page, with a roman numeral, or as P. iii. 2 with a letter, and catchword; whereas

in O. v. 5 each leaf is numbered in arabic figures in the lower margin of its first page or recto in the space between the columns, and often just above is the number of the quire in roman numerals. The small, close, book-hand of this MS., just like a miniature reproduction of a handsome black-letter page, and the rich minuteness of its initials are so well proportioned that it looks like a handsome folio, and yet it gets the entire treatise of Gregory on Job into quite a moderate-sized volume, comparing well with our India-paper volumes both in beauty, neatness, and conciseness. O. iii. 3 is also written on fine white vellum, in quires of twelve leaves—once of sixteen; otherwise it is a contrast to O. v. 5. Its initials are left blank (as often happened, perhaps when a community had not got a skilful illuminator). Its writing, though fairly regular and black, is rather more cursive in style, and there is a total absence of decoration; in fact, it was a book for study, not for luxury, the only one among these MSS. that represents the literature of the later schoolmen. I do not know whether it is thirteenth or fourteenth century; otherwise all these MSS. seem to range between 1100 and about 1300, and most of them probably between 1150 and 1250, a period apparently of great literary activity in this part of the world, and unusually well represented in our library; a time when the monasteries founded or reorganised during the century after the Conquest had grown to full vigour and still retained the energy of their first impulse.

I have tried to give first a general account of the appearance of the MSS. to save much needless repetition, and also because the peculiarities of some of them seemed to come out most clearly in such a comparison. All are on vellum, thick and with many flaws in the older books, but usually surprisingly clean and well preserved. P. iii. 2 is imperfect at the end, and P. iii. 5 in many places, handfuls having been torn out; the others, I think, are perfect.

I may observe that the books of Gloucester Abbey prefer the form Gloucestria or Glocestria in their inscriptions,

while the Franciscan book speaks of Glovernia. Similarly, St. Guthlac's is spelt in various ways: Guthlacii, Guthlaci, Gutlaci, Gudlaci.

O. iii. 1 is inscribed on its last page: "Liber abb*at*ie beati pet*ri* Gloucestr. a q*uo et* a deo maledicat*ur* q*ui* e*um* alienau*er*it *et* def*r*audau*er*it. Fiat. fiat." Inside its first cover is a spiral leaf-scroll and some scribbling; inside its end cover, "No. 15." On the ℣ of the first flyleaf begins a sort of index, perhaps thirteenth century, continued on the next page, the ℣ of which contains the original table of contents—incomplete, for in the text the first six treatises had only blank spaces left for their titles, the first and sixth of which a later hand filled in, and the compiler of the table of contents probably took the first four treatises to be one book; also he lumped together the sermons at the end, and overlooked one of Augustine's treatises, which a later hand added. The actual contents are as follows:—

(a) *Libri Prosperi contra Pelagianam Heresim.*

[i. Epistola de gratia et libero arbitrio, in St. Augustine's works, Migne's edition, tom. x., col. 1793.

ii. Prosperi Responsiones ad Capitula calumniantium Gallorum, tom. x., col. 1833.

iii. Prosperi Responsiones ad Capitula objectionum Vincentianarum, tom. x., col. 1843.

iv. Prosperi Responsiones ad excerpta quæ de Genuensi civitate sunt missa, tom. x., col. 1849.]

(b) *Item Augustini Ad Octo Questiones Dulcitii* [tom. vi., col. 147].

vi. Idem de Predestinatione Sanctorum [= sixth book of the *Hypomnesticon;* tom. x., col. 1657].

[vii.] Idem de Vera Religione [tom. iii., col. 121].

[viii.] Idem de Gratia et libero Arbitrio, ad Valentinum monachum [tom. x., col. 881].

(c) *Sermones eiusdem et Origenis et Eusebii, de Nativitate et Circumcisione et Epiphania Domini.*

[ix. Sermo beati Augustini episcopi de Natiuitate

Domini, *incipit* Quis tantarum rerum . . . = Sermon CXXI. in Appendix to tom. v., col. 1987.

x. *Incipit* Dominus noster Iesus Christus . . . = Sermon CXXVIII. in Appendix to tom. v., col. 1997.

xi. *Incipit* Clementissimus pater omnipotens Deus cum doleret seculum cenulentis erroribus inuolutum . . . (s. 76; Mai nova P.P. Bibl. i. 150.)

xii. *Incipit* Hodie veritas orta est, Christus . . . = Sermon CXCII., tom. v., col. 1011.

xiii. *Incipit* Verbum patris, per quod . . . = Sermon CXCI., tom. v., col. 1009.

xiv. *Incipit* Hodiernus dies ad habendam . . . = Sermon CCCLXX., tom. v., col. 1657.

xv. Sermo Eusebii in Natali Domini, *incipit* Audiuimus prophetam de natiuitate . . . (Augustini, s. 138; Mai Bibl. nova P.P. i. 323.)

xvi. Sermo Origenis de Circumcisione Domini, *incipit* Quod mortuus est Christus, peccato mortuus est . . . (Hom. XIV. in Lucam, interpr. Hieronymo; 26, 246.)

xvii. Allocutio S. Augustini de Epiphania Domini, *incipit* Post miraculum uirginei partus, quo se uterus diuino numine . . .

xviii. Sermo b. Augustini episcopi de Epiphania Domini, *incipit* Ad partum uirginis . . . = Sermon CC., tom. v., col. 1028.

xix. Item Sermo unde supra, *incipit* Aperiatur hodie omne os = Sermon CXXXVIII. in Appendix to tom. v., col. 2017].

Some of the above treatises and sermons are of doubtful authorship.

The MS. seems to consist of three distinct sections, the viith and viiith treatises commencing fresh quires, with more decorated titles; at these places, and before the ivth treatise,

a strip of the margin has been knotted to form a marker. The initials are chiefly red and light green; one is mauve, one blue; a few are slightly decorated.

O. i. 2 is by far the most varied and interesting in its contents; on the top of flyleaf 2, v (flyleaf 1 formerly lined the cover), is the inscription: "*Liber* Thom*e* de Bred*one* Abb*at*is Glouc*estrie*." He became abbot in 1224 and died in 1228. On the next page is the contemporary table of contents, to which I have made some additions:—

In hoc uolumine continentur hec que subscripta sunt. Omelia [Declamatio] Bernardi Clareuallensis [Gaufridi] super Ecce nos reliquimus omnia ... ... i.

Quidam tractatus de Cruce, que sic incipit, Circuire possum ... ... ii.

[Ricardus de S. Victore de Studio Sapientie ... iia.]

[Sermones quinque anonymi ... ... iib.

Extracts from Augustine: i. from Sermo 130; ii. from De Vera Religione, cap. 16, sections 30, 31 (tom. iii. 134); iii. from Sermo 171; iv. from Tractatus iv. in Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos, cap. 6 (tom. iii. 2008); v. from Sermo 304.

Tractatus [Sermo] Anselmi Cantuar. de 2 Beatitudinibus et 2 Miseriis ... ... iii.

Contemplatio Gregorii Nazareni (*sic*) reuersi de Agro ... ... iiii.

Alquinus de omnibus Virtutibus et Vitiis ... v.

Sinonima Ysidori Hispalensis episcopi ... ... vi.

Breues Allegorie super Vetus Testamentum et Nouum [? Petri Comestoris] ... ... vii.

Sententia Nouati de humilitate et obedientia ... viii.

Sermo Sci. Augustini quod nichil est gloria mundi, et de penis inferni [58 ad Fratres in Eremo; tom. vi. 1341.] ... ... ix.

Sermo eiusdem de humilitate et obedientia [tom. vi. 1221.] ... ... x.

De tribus Habitaculis, Celo, Terra, Inferno [tom. vi. 991.] ... ... xi.
Anselmus Cantuar [Eadmer] de Similitudinibus xii.
Meditacio cuiusdam [Alexandri Neckam] de Maria Magdalena, sic incipiens, Osculetur me xiii.
Liber Sancti Augustini de Decem Cordis [Chordis—the Decalogue. Sermo 9; tom. v. 75.] xiiii.
Sermo [Alexandri Neckam], qui sic incipit, Verno tempore [solent reges ad bella procedere] xv.
Exceptiones de Vitas (*sic*) Patrum ... ... xvi.
Vita Sancte Marine Virginis ... ... xvii.
De S. Paulo Simplice ... ... xviii.
Vita S. Alexii Confessoris ... ... xix.
Sermones [xii.] S. Cesarii episcopi [Perhaps three by Cæsarius, two by Faustus and seven by Eusebius.] ... ... xx.

The contents of this MS. deserve a fuller description than I shall give to the others, as some of them are of local interest, and, as a whole, they give a particularly good idea of the thoughts of the Gloucester monks. Nearly all the contents are either moral treatises and exhortations, or allegorical interpretations of Holy Scripture, and several combine both interests. Evidently the cultivation of the monastic virtues occupied most of the attention of the cloister—it was a school of character, where the one aim was to forsake all earthly motives and to train souls into sanctity. Intent on the study of their own lives, they analysed and classified virtues and vices, framing schemes of soul-progress from the contempt of earthly goods, the repentance and abandonment that flung the novice prostrate beneath the abbot's will, through the ascetic discipline of self-control, chastity. humility, retirement, silence, obedience, to the sweetness of spiritual contemplation which was at once the perfection and reward of the true monk, as in deathlike self-forgetfulness and absorption he gazed in silent rapture on the beauty of God.

This incessant study of morality tended to boredom. In fact, religion became such a bore from being continually dwelt upon that monks were more tempted than most men to escape from the conventional religiousness into excessive interest in every trifle of meals or farmwork or affairs of the monastery, and so the communities formed to quit the world for God became at last centres of the most intense worldliness.

Little trace of this is to be found in these early MSS., but they show the attempt to beguile the monotony of moral exhortations by anecdotes from holy lives, classical quotations, and, above all, the wildest extravagance of allegorical use of Scripture. If the subject-matter of monastic study was the monks' own characters, the textbook was the Bible. Perhaps no age has ever been so thoroughly familiar with every word of Scripture, or so dexterous in applying it to every moral topic. The literal meaning of the words may have entirely escaped notice, for they are often gathered at random from every part of the Bible, and patriarchs and kings become marvellously ingenious personifications of virtues and vices, while Bible narratives are pressed into orderly presentations of ethical systems. A good example of this, both in the academic neatness of its ethics and the arbitrariness of its employment of history, is the treatise "De Studio Sapientie," which the scribe did not apparently distinguish from the anonymous treatise "De Cruce," which precedes it. (The same two treatises are apparently joined in another MS., O. ii. 8, where they are anonymous, and follow a work by Hugh of S. Victor.) An early pencil note in the margin ascribes it to Richard of St. Victor, one of the literary glories of Paris in the twelfth century, who followed his teacher, Hugh of St. Victor, in the exposition of Scripture and the promotion of mystical piety. He takes for his subject the history of Jacob's wives and children, which becomes in his hands a systematic scheme of the growth of virtues in the soul. Leah is natural Affection, Rachel Reason; their handmaids respectively Sensuality and Imagination.

Leah's sons, Fear, Grief, Hope, and Love, are discussed at length; then the handmaids' children, Imagination bearing two kinds of "Speculation," while Sensuality, or rather the subdual of the Senses, produces Abstinence, Patience, Obedience, Praiseworthiness, Discipline of mind and body; then follow Mercy, Joy, Sweetness (inward and outward), Strength, Humility. Then the tale of Dinah suggests Zeal, Modesty, Caution in punishing sins, Grief and Hope as aids to repentance; after which Rachel's sons, Discretion and Contemplation, lead up by self-knowledge, "science," and revelation to the contemplation of God. All this is worked out with much moral suggestiveness and a close adhesion to the narrative. To us the allegory simply confuses and burdens the intrinsic interest of the ethical treatise, but evidently then it made it more attractive and fixed it in the memory. A much larger work of Scripture allegory occupies a great part of the volume, the "Short Allegories on the Old and New Testament," which is printed among the works of Hugh of St. Victor, though Dupin thinks it more probably to be ascribed to Richard. Our MS. originally ascribed the New Testament portion to P . . . . tor Parisiensis (part of the name has been erased, perhaps to alter Comestor to Manducator, his other title). This must have meant Peter Comestor, whose "Historia Scholastica" it slightly resembles; he is also named in a pencil marginal note as author of the Old Testament portion. Dr. Montague Rhodes James informs me that Peter Comestor was the author; he suggests that the erased title attributed it to Petrus Cantor, as Comestor was called of Troyes, not of Paris; he was, however, Chancellor of Paris University. But all three writers were contemporaries at Paris, and whoever wrote it it is the continuation of a work on subjects of general information also ascribed to Hugh or Richard of St. Victor. It goes through the Old Testament book by book, allegorising the chief narratives; in the New Testament it is much briefer than the printed text and in quite a different order, not according to the books, but perhaps intended to be

roughly in order of events. It breaks off in the middle of the Gospel history, omitting the Epistles, &c., and the long digressions on the Sermon on the Mount, &c., which the printed text gives under St. Matthew. Similar allegorical expositions of Scripture in brief Latin verses have been added in the margins of several leaves, of which the following may be taken as brief samples:—

"Quomodo suscepit Salomon a matre coronam?
Est Salomon, Christus; mater, sinagoga; corona,
Spinea; de spinis Christo dedit illa coronam."

"Respexit Dominus ad Abel. Respexit ad eius
Munera; plus placet affectus quam munera dantis;
Unde prius dantem respexit, postea munus;
Non per munus Abel, per Abel sunt munera grata."

"Hicque Sareptene mulieris ligna legentis,
Natus, far, oleum, uiuit, habundat, adest:
Crux, duo ligna; farina, scientia; Christus, Helyas;
Femina, gens; oleum, gratia; nosque, puer."

This last is a good instance of the habit in mediæval verse of a string of nouns joined to a string of verbs, to be taken in pairs: "Natus uiuit, far habundat, oleum adest." Such verses seem to have given great pleasure both to authors and readers, if one may judge by the number of MSS. into which they are scribbled, some verses occurring again and again.

The more extravagant excesses of allegorising are exemplified in the little treatise "De Cruce," which, fortunately for the author's credit, appears anonymously.[1] After a rhetorical introduction beginning "Circuire possum Domine celum et terram, mare et aridam, et nusquam te inueniam nisi tantum in cruce. Ibi dormis, ibi pascis, ibi cubas in meridie. Crux enim tua fides est, cuius latitudo karitas,

[1] Perhaps by Baldvin of Ford.—M.R.J.

longitudo longanimitas, altitudo spes, profundum timor," &c., it proceeds to discuss Calvary, Absalom and Judas, the double cave, Michol, Elijah's mantle, Joseph, the two going to Emmaus, the widow and jars of oil, &c. But the sort of treatment will be seen from a brief outline of its earlier sections. Calvary (the place of baldness) suggests "Go up, thou bald head." Christ, our Elijah, went up thither, not having where to lay His head. His disciples fled: they are His hair. Then a passing allusion to the daughter of Syon being made bald; to the bald eagle who gazes on the sun—so he who grows spiritually bald sees the true light (with a tacit allusion to the tonsure?); but long hair blinds and weighs down a man—so Absalom lost the beatific vision by the weight of his hair, and it hung him. This leads to a parallel of Absalom and Judas. Judas's "hair" was the bag he bore, which weighed him down; it was shorn once a year in his restoring the thirty pieces of silver (!). He weighed his sin in weighty words; he weighed his shame, not his conscience nor God's mercy. Then as Absalom's hair stood for avarice, his mule stands for hypocrisy (because of its double nature). Then the soldier's spear that pierced Absalom (like Christ) is preaching; the soldier Christendom, who by preaching pierces sinners' hearts. This spear, called by Habakkuk a flaming spear, is that which, with the water-flask of grace, David took from Saul; for the words of wisdom and grace are taken from the proud. Then David's reproach to Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 20) leads up to a comparison of the tiny flea that leaps and bites and the lowly, righteous man who confidently bites the vices of the flesh, and leaps to the hills, where he has a most sure refuge.

The discursive irrelevance of all this, its total unconsciousness of absurdity (or else of reverence), and its intense stupidity is not at all exaggerated. Much of it might be simply the stringing together of concordance references for a single word.

The two pieces by Alexander Nequam (so the name

is spelt in the title; it was probably Neckam or Necham) both bear his name in the text, so it is strange that the table of contents mentions them anonymously, if there is not, indeed, a touch of contempt in the "Meditatio *cuiusdam*." He was born at St. Alban's in 1157, but joined the Austin Canons of Cirencester, where he was abbot from 1213 to 1217, so he may fairly be reckoned a Gloucestershire worthy. He intended to present his poem, "De laudibus Divine Sapientie," to Gloucester Abbey, but doubted its acceptance, which implies friendly intimacy, but perhaps some less pleasant feelings: both may be illustrated by the inclusion of these two pieces in this Gloucester volume, and the omission of his name from its index, not so many years after his time, when his memory as a man of most distinguished and varied learning ought to have been familiar to all England, especially in Gloucester Abbey, where I suspect his sermon on Spring was preached—at least, its opening allusion to the Church of St. Peter would there be most appropriate. I need hardly speak of his general career, as the life prefixed to his two chief works in the Rolls Series gives a full account of him, as well as that in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was a typical instance of the monastic scholar of the period, beginning his career as a lay teacher, and seeking the cosmopolitan training of Paris University, so he not unfitly accompanies Richard of St. Victor—like himself, an Austin Canon.

The first and by far the longest of his works in this volume, the "Meditatio de Magdalena" (not, as has been stated, a poem), begins: "Osculetur me osculo oris sui. Ad mensam spiritualis refectionis recumbente sapientia . . . ," and opens with a pretty little allegory of various virtues introducing the penitent to the banquet hall of wisdom. Then he enlarges on the whole history of Mary Magdalene, with copious use of the Song of Songs and other Scriptural material. Some account of the shorter sermon on Spring will give an idea of his style, decidedly flowing and eloquent,

compared to the rest of the volume. Taking as text the words "Verno tempore solent reges ad bella procedere," first he enlarges on springtide, literal and spiritual—the winter has fled from around St. Peter's, it is the time of the Sun of righteousness, of the more clement air of the Holy Spirit; then turning to the novices before him—O that the springtide of their youth may bear spring blossoms of pure thoughts; then to the elder monks—and the autumn fruit of good actions! Not in sloth's winter do kings go to war, but in spring warmth and moisture of grace. Kings—they who well rule themselves—each with his own soul as a subject city! "How sits the city alone, full of people"—alone, without the Trinity's aid and comfort; full of people, of tumults of idle thoughts. Happy kings who rule discreetly their portion of the earth, happiest who judge themselves to be earth—"dust thou art, unto dust . . ." (In all this he has played with "prelatos," a word dear to elder monks, as meaning not only one set over a city, but over his brother monks.) Then he enlarges on war, on civil war (too well known then at Gloucester)—foes, evil spirits and vices; citizens, our brethren. Next he briefly reviews a series of Old Testament wars—the five kings against four (*i.e.* the pleasures of the senses against the cardinal virtues); against Amalek, when Moses, supported by Hur (fervour) and Aaron (strength) aided the war by intercession, as a good abbot aids his community by his prayers (here I can fancy his most courtly compliments towards the presiding abbot—he had duly flattered each class of the community); then follows Jephtha's daughter, the flesh, to be sacrificed by abstinence; then he imagines their excuses—"they are too young for the conflict," but did not young David slay Goliath (vain confidence) with the missile of a penitential Psalm and the sling of devout impulse? Then, turning from novices to seniors, "they are too old to be fighting"—why, Ambrose says our arms are our tears, so are true fasts and fruitful prayers. Look at aged Caleb's conquest! Nestor did more than Achilles, Samuel's prayers than Saul's sword. Similarly

Judith, Jael, Deborah are quoted—will they let women surpass them? And after *quite* irrelevantly allegorising the whole tale of Thamar, he returns to his text, and gracefully winds up his sermon.

St. Anselm is represented in this volume by two works, neither of which perhaps is from his pen, though gathered from his words. The sermon on two Beatitudes and two Miseries was preached by him during his exile to the assembled monks at Cluny, and so highly was it esteemed that afterwards, at the request of many elsewhere, his biographer and companion, Eadmer, drew up a report of the sermon from memory, after talking over the subject with St. Anselm; so his report, which is printed in St. Anselm's works, is really revised by the author with his later thoughts. The sermon in our MS. is evidently quite a different and much shorter report of the same sermon, perhaps obtained direct from Cluny, for Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester, was a Cluniac monk; it may even be a copy of St. Anselm's written sermon, if he left it at Cluny. This, and the treatise "De tribus Habitaculis," are also included in another MS. (P. i. 6), formerly belonging to Richard Hanley, Abbot of Gloucester (1457-72), which I hope to describe in a future paper. The two Blessednesses are the natural bliss of Eden and that of the angels in heaven; the two Miseries those of earthly life and of hell. These are scarcely touched upon, but the natural beatitudes, Beauty, Speed, Strength, Freedom, Health, Pleasure and Long Life—each with its spiritual counterpart —Wisdom, Friendship, Concord, Power, Honour, Security, Joy—a rather unconventional series—are dwelt on at some length. The Similitudes, also due to Eadmer's zeal in collecting and reporting St. Anselm's sayings, are a collection of miscellaneous observations on moral and Scriptural subjects, many allegorical; the text is in parts much briefer than that printed, especially at the end. It would seem that Eadmer may have issued severa copies, enlarging the later copies as he recollected more

sayings. At the end of this treatise the scribe has added a verse:—

> "Vita breuis, casusque leuis, nec spes remeandi;
> Quanta seres hic, tanta feres; sit cura parandi;
> Plura seras ut plura feras, ne non seruisse
> Peniteat, cum nil ualeat iam penituisse."

Alcuin's treatise "De Sapientia" (otherwise called "De Virtutibus et Vitiis"), which near the beginning quotes as Athanasius the opening verse of the *Quicunque Vult*, deals briefly with knowledge, wisdom; faith, charity, hope; Bible study; peace, mercy, indulgence, patience, humility; compunction, confession, penitence, not delaying conversion, the fear of the Lord; fasting, alms; chastity; avoiding fraud; of judges and false witnesses; envy, pride, anger, seeking human praise; of eight vices—pride, gluttony, fornication, avarice, wrath, accidie, sadness, vanity; and of the four cardinal virtues.

Bernard's[1] Sermon to the Clergy on Contempt of the World—an exposition of the verse, "We have left all and followed Thee"—here divided into sections, with a separate table of contents, and the other ethical contents of the volume, need little notice. Their topics—humility, obedience, contempt of the world, heaven and hell, the Decalogue—must have been the very alphabet of cloister teaching. The anonymous treatise "De tribus Habitaculis," printed with St. Augustine's works (tom. vi., col. 991), has often been attributed to St. Patrick, but not by Irish writers; evidently a later work (Haddan and Stubbs). St. Caesarius' Sermons to Monks deal with such topics as that they are assembled for conflict, not rest; that after overcoming crimes they should shun even little negligencies; of the pains of hell; how useful reading and other honest occupations are; that it is not enough to have lived in the cloister, but to have acted well; that the just receive part

[1] Really by his secretary Gaufridus or Geofrey, Abbot of Igny, &c. It also occurs incompletely in P. iii. 5.

of their reward even here; against detraction, &c.; and on the husbandry of the soul. Two of these are attributed by Schenkl to Faustus Rhegiensis, and six or seven to Eusebius Emisenus or Eucherius. Many occur also in O. i. 6, a Cirencester MS., in describing which I hope to say more about them.

It will be observed how many ages and lands are represented in this volume—a feature of the Middle Ages very unlike our habit of relying almost entirely on the literature of our own country and our own generation. Here Augustine and Novatus, with Isidore from Spain and Caesarius from Southern France, represent the early maturity of Latin Christianity; the Greek Fathers, always inadequately known in Latin monasteries, are meagrely represented by Gregory Nazianzen; Alcuin recalls the brief renaissance of Charlemagne; Bernard, Hugh or Richard of St. Victor, Peter Comestor, and Anselm unite French, Italian, and English Christianity in the early twelfth century; while nearly a century later Alexander Neckham just serves as a casual sample of contemporary English authors. But perhaps the most strangely remote age and locality in the book is seen in the collection of anecdotes and sayings from the lives of the Fathers—the hermit saints of Egypt, Anthony and his followers, the pioneers of Christian monasticism, from whom, through Cassian and other writers, the Western monks learnt the first principles of asceticism. The title prefixed to this collection is "Incipiunt adhortat*ione*s S*anct*or*um* Patru*m*, perfectionesq*ue* monachor*um*, q*ua*s de greco in lat*inum* tr*a*nstulit beat*us* Ieron*imus*"; it has no colophon. It is a somewhat abridged selection from the much larger collection of anecdotes entitled "Sanctorum Anachoretarum Ægyptiorum Apophtegmata," which is printed in the ninth volume of De La Bigne's *Sacra Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum* (second edition, Paris, 1589, col. 1333), and there attributed by some to St. Jerome as translator, but rather to Pelagius, a Roman deacon. In early times many lives of these saints seem to have

been wrongly ascribed to St. Jerome.[1] The collection is a mere string of anecdotes, arranged to illustrate successively the virtues of compunction, chastity, poverty, patience, endurance, avoiding ostentation, silent labour, discretion, obedience, humility, charity, contemplation, &c. A brief repetition of a few of the shortest anecdotes will show the nature of the collection.

When Abbot John was dying the brethren begged him to leave them some edifying saying. He groaned out: "I have never done my own will, nor taught anyone what I had not first done myself." Asked "What good thing shall I do that I may live in it?" he replied: "God alone knows what is good, but I have heard that Abbot Nesteron, St. Anthony's disciple, said—Are not all works equal? for Abraham was hospitable, and God was with him; Elias was a lover of quiet, and God was with him; and David was lowly, and God was with him. Whatever, therefore, you find your soul desire in accordance with God, do that, and guard your heart."

Abbot Arsenius, when still living at court, prayed: "Lord, guide me to salvation;" and a voice came to him saying: "Arsenius, fly from men, and thou shalt be saved." When a monk he prayed the same words, and a voice said: "Arsenius, fly, be silent, be still, for these are the roots of sinlessness."

Once blessed Theophilus, the Archbishop, with a certain judge, visited Arsenius, and asked him to speak to them. After some silence he said: "And if I say a thing will you do it?" On their promising, he said: "Wherever you may hear Arsenius is, don't you go near there."

Abbot Moyses said: "Mind you sit still in your cell, and your cell will teach you all things."

[1] The Vitæ Patrum is a compilation of very mixed origin, too long to go into. The whole mass of the Latin texts was edited in cent. XVIII. by Heribert Rosweyd. Dom E. C. Butler has recently investigated the Greek text in *Texts and Studies* (M. R. J.). This work is not to be confounded with the Lausiac History of Palladius, otherwise called the Paradisus of Heraclides, which occurs in a Cirencester MS.

It was said of Abbot Arsenius that all his life while he sat at his handiwork he used to have a cloth in his lap to wipe up his frequent tears of penitence.

When Archbishop Theophilus was dying he cried: "Blessed Arsenius, that you have always borne this hour before your eyes!"

When Abbot Pambo wept at the sight of an actress, he explained: "Two things move me—her perdition, and that I care less to please God than she to please degraded men."

Once Abbot Sisci said confidently: "These thirty years I have not asked pardon of God for a (deadly) sin, but I pray 'Lord Jesu Christ, protect me from my tongue,' and even now every day I fall into faults through it." He said also: "Our pilgrimage consists in holding one's tongue."

Another saying of his was: "It is better to eat flesh and drink wine than to bite our brother's flesh with disparaging words."

One elder visiting another, the host bade his disciple "Make us a little lentil-porridge and bake us some cakes," and he did so. But the elders went on talking of spiritual matters till next midday. Again the host said to his disciple, "Make us some lentil-cakes, my son." He only answered, "I made some yesterday," and so they got up and ate them.

The brethren begged an old monk to rest from hard work, but he answered: "Believe me, sons, even Abraham will repent, when he sees God's great and splendid gifts, that he had not striven more laboriously."

There was an elder who was often ill. One year he chanced not to fall ill, and lamented, saying: "God has deserted me and has not visited me."

The elders would say: "If you see a youth ascending to heaven of his own will, seize him by the foot and fling him on the ground, for it's not good for him to do it in that way."

An elder said: "How can one keep one's heart if one's tongue has the door open?"

One elder said to another: "I am dead to this world!" The other answered: "Don't trust in yourself till you are

out of this body, for if you say you are dead, be sure Satan isn't."

An elder said: "If one loses gold or silver one may find it again; but lost time can never be recovered."

There was an elder who, when his thoughts would say to him, "Let be to-day, for you can repent to-morrow," used to contradict them, saying: "Nay, but to-day I will do penance; to-morrow God's will be done!"

Abbot Zacharias was asked: "Tell me what to do." He flung down his hood and trampled on it, saying: "Except a man be trodden under foot like that he cannot be a true monk."

A brother, hurt by another, wanted to avenge himself. An elder who heard him said: "O God, we don't require Thee now to take thought for us, for now we take our own vengeance!" whereupon the injured monk forgave his brother and did penance himself before the elder.

Someone asked: "Why is it that now some of us find daily life so hard, and do not receive grace as men used to?" An elder answered: "Because there was charity then, and everyone drew his neighbour upwards; but now charity has grown cold, each drags his neighbour down, and so does not deserve grace."

The picturesque little lives of St. Marina, St. Paul the Simple, and St. Alexius, which follow, will be found in substance in Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints;* they also were early Eastern monastic saints.

We have seen the collection and arrangement of anecdotes to illustrate moral topics; a similar selection is seen in process of formation in a series of quotations from Juvenal, Lucan, Horace's *Epistles*, and Ovid's *Tristia*, which are very neatly written in a much abbreviated contemporary hand in the lower margins of the earlier pages. The quotations, often only a line or two, are chiefly arranged in the order of occurrence, but in the margin opposite many of them figures have been added indicating the moral heading under which they were to be arranged. Thus i. stands for praises of

poverty, its security, &c.; ii., the evils of riches, ambition, worldliness, great men; iii., flattery and courtiers; iv., gluttony and drunkenness; v., the faults of women; vi., ancestral pride; and so on. These classical quotations were probably meant to grace and enforce sermons or epistles; but classical authors were considerably studied as literature at Gloucester Abbey, as Osbern's Dictionary shows. A taste for classical poetry is also visible in some mediæval Latin poems copied into the flyleaves at the beginning of this volume, preceded by quotations from Gregory Nazianzen and Ambrose, and by a hymn and collect in honour of St. Arildis, which will be found in the appendix. I am indebted to Canon Bazeley for the following account of the saint, given by Leland: "Sancta Arilda Virgin, martyred at Kington (Kineton), near Thornbury, translated to this monastery (St. Peter's, Gloucester), had done many miracles." "Saynt Arild Virgin martired at Kinton ny to Thornberye by one Muncius a Tiraunt who cut of hir heade becawse she would not consent to lye withe hym. She was translatyd to this monasterye, and hathe done great Miracles." There is still a well at Kineton called St. Arild's Well. She is said to have been buried in the crypt.

It appears from a spoilt calendar-leaf used to line the cover of another of our MSS. (P. vi. 1), which I shall describe presently, that her feast was on St. Margaret's Day (July 20th), though it is accidentally entered on the previous day.

This memorial of a local saint is perhaps the most interesting thing in these volumes to local antiquaries. But to return to the Latin poems which follow, and which I think may perhaps be the work of Hildebert, Bishop of Tours (who died in 1134). First comes an elegiac poem of sixty-four lines on the Contempt of the World, "Esto quod faveant, et cuncta tibi famulentur." Be as prosperous as you may, says the poet, you must die; be fair as Paris, wise as Cato, eloquent as Tully, a Eurialus in character, a Numa in experience, blessed with ancestors, family,

wealth, a hall decked with ivory, purple couches, attendant knights—with necklace, ring, head-dress, jewelled goblets—your leisure occupied with pleasures of the chase—let each night excel the day, and each day the night—when fortune has granted all this, not you but your heir will enjoy it. All is fleeting; groans will follow smiles, the end of joy be eternal punishment. Serve God while you have health and time; days fly like a shadow—in youth they are fleeting, in age few; one day will end them all, as sudden at last to old as to young. Then follows a string of celebrities who have died, of every rank and sex (ending in Venus!); then a horrible portrait of decrepit old age—"Ergo libens Christum, dum sanguine membra calescunt, Dum superest tempus, dum tibi robur, ama!"

Next comes a long, frigid poem in praise of St. Mary; then a lament that men will prefer mirth to penitential exhortations, a lucky throw to Christ's grace, the tale of Helen to the most tearful sermon. How much wiser to read Scripture, for where will you find such marvels? What romance can equal the miracles? Then follows a long list of Old Testament wonders, all in rhymed couplets; then quit the poets! away with frivolities—"Flebilis est risus quo surripitur Paradisus, Et lacrime lete que dant bona nescia mete. Jeiuna, plora, uigila, pete, psalle, labora, Ut tibi sit munus trinus Deus et Deus unus": then exhortations to ascetic life; for Death takes all else away; what are all perishing riches?—in Death we shall see; Heaven is best of all, then forsake all earthly things.

The next poem enforces celibacy by a disgusting sketch of a disinterred woman. Soon we turn with relief to a little poem on the motives of a scholar. God, Who sees all things, sees the motives of every student. Some seek gain, others praise—with equal toil, equal weariness. Riches and knowledge never satisfy—desire grows with attainment; but thou, O flower of youths, too rich to need gain, vainly seeking adequate praise, thou must needs take God Himself for thy aim!

Next, recurring to the contrast between the vanity of poetry and the preferableness of Scripture, the poet sketches the Grammarian, more careful of speech than of soul; the Rhetorician, prating of Truth and neglecting the Truth; the Logician, tossing about his windy sophisms with jaw-splitting garrulity, swinging his arms, stamping, laughing; but thou, spurn these kites and soar like an eagle! Gaze into the height of virtue, and thence satisfy the poor, the hungry with the true riches of moral teaching, the food of the soul. Learn that you may teach virtues—that pleases God, Who delights not in riches but piety.

Again a long poem on women causing all evils, both of sacred and profane history; then one on the Camel and the Needle's Eye; then epigrams on Gambling, Dives and Lazarus, Pythagoras, &c. Such were the subjects and thoughts current in Gloucester Abbey.

I have described this book at some length, for it serves to illustrate mediæval ways of thought; the remaining volumes call for much less remark, as they mostly contain a single work, and that better known.

The five following MSS. belonged to St. Guthlac's Priory, in Bye Street, Hereford, a cell of Gloucester Abbey.

P. iii. 2, the oldest of these, is inscribed on the first leaf: "Liber *sancti* Guthlaci, de prioratu Herefordie." On the same leaf are the following verses and title:—

> "Nullam causidico reor esse fidem, neque dico,
> Hosti pro modico fit amicus, et hostis amico.

"In hoc uolumine continentur ep*istole* Pauli. Et ep*istole* canonice. Et uita s*ancte* Paule. *Et cantica canticor*um* In xiii q*uaterni*s—(here a later hand has added, "*Hec et pars Vitae Paulae non sunt")—que sunt de minori uolumine, quedam glosule super cant*ica* cant*icorum*, cum duobus quaternis s. continentur hic.

> "Occurrant menti tua mors, et passio Christi,
> Judiciique dies, pia celi, terror auerni."
> (Then the above inscription.)

I think the title means that at first this volume contained thirteen quires (*quaternum* meant four sheets—eight leaves—folded together; otherwise called *quaternus*, *quarternum*, and *quaternio*, whence the French *cahier* and our quire); but that early in the Middle Ages it was divided into two volumes, the last five quires, containing the end of Jerome's Life of S. Paula and the Glosses on the Song of Songs, being bound separately in a smaller (*i.e.* thinner) volume, to which the last two quires of the present volume, containing the rest of the Life of S. Paula, properly belonged, though bound with the Epistles. That is to say, it was intended to divide the volume at the end of the Epistles, making S. Paula and the Song of Songs form the second volume; but the binder divided the quires wrongly, so that at present the volume contains the Epistles and nearly all the Life of S. Paula, breaking off at the end of the eighth quire, at the words " . . . sic et is qui iuramentum metuit." The second volume has long disappeared.[1] (It is *possible* that the "thirteen quires" referred to the Song of Songs only.) The text of the Epistles, without gloss, is written in a small, neat, pale round hand. On the second page is some introduction to Romans—" Romani sunt qui ex iudeis . . .," attributed by Schenkl to Hrabanus Maurus, Bruno Carth. and Lanfranc. The text begins on the third page with a dark-green P decorated with red flourishing, and enclosing a crude drawing of St. Paul holding writing implements. At the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews is a formula of excommunication, which will be found in the appendix. Then follow the Canonical Epistles, after which, beginning a fresh quire in a much larger, bolder hand, with twenty-nine lines instead of forty-two to the single column, the Life of

[1] Dr. M. R. James suggests, "Could 'de minori uolumine' mean 'of smaller size' (*i.e.* smaller leaves)?" If so, P. i. 8 or P. i. 14 might contain the missing commentary; but in neither does the number of quires agree with the above reckoning. The former MS. also contains a commentary on the Apocalypse; neither contains the missing leaves of the Vita S. Paulæ. They are both small, thin, and shabby; of the same date or a little later than P. iii. 2.

S. Paula commences with a red S with green flourishing and two men's faces.

In the margin of the Epistles are some paragraph numbers, perhaps to divide them for daily lessons; and some Sunday Epistles are indicated.

O. v. 1, "Liber Genesis glosatus," is inscribed on the lower margin of fol. 1, "Rog*er* Cap*ellanus* (?) dedit h*unc* lib*rum* eccl*esie* s*ancti* Gudlaci de H*ereford* (?)." It is a very ordinary specimen of the twelfth century glossed books of the Bible. The text occupies the central column, with glosses between the lines, and longer comments in each side column, the text being in larger writing so that a line of text occupies the space of two lines of gloss. The initials are large, not much decorated, in blue, brown, green, and red.

The first two pages contain in two columns introductory extracts on Genesis from Isidore, Gregory, Augustine, Bede, Strabus, Jerome, and Alcuin. A half illegible title on the front cover seems to ascribe the Gloss to Rabanus Maurus.

The cover seems once to have had a central boss. Inside the end cover of this (and of O. iii. 1) is the late entry No. 15; also some rabbinical characters which I have not deciphered; there are similar characters at the end of P. vi. 1.

P. vi. 1, Gregory the Great's Homilies on Ezekiel, was inscribed on the first flyleaf, which was stuck to the cover: "Lib*er* de p*rio*ratu S*ancti* Guthlacii Herford," in a late thirteenth-century hand. In detaching the flyleaves from the covers, which was done recently at Oxford by a careful and experienced bookbinder, this inscription was almost washed out, but it had fortunately been copied before. The loosening of these flyleaves, however, resulted in interesting discoveries, for the first flyleaf was found to contain an unfinished leaf of a July Kalendar, flung aside by the scribe because he had entered the later festivals a day too soon—an easier mistake to make when the days were numbered backwards by the Roman calendar—and so used to line the volume which was then being bound. This kalendar will be found in the appendix; the red-letter days had not been

inserted. Most of the saints named are in the Sarum and York Kalendars; York omits St. Kenelm; St. Grimbald is less common; but the chief interest of the page lies in the mention of St. Arildis, on St. Margaret's Day (July 20th, though the scribe has misplaced it on the 19th). I have already spoken of this little-known local saint, whose feast-day, I believe, is only known from this entry.

The end flyleaf was the last sheet of a Sacramentary apparently written for an Anglo-Saxon Abbess.[1] The original text will be found in the appendix; later hands had added "Benedicamus domino: Ite missa est" (the concluding formulæ at Mass), with the music, and some scribbling half cut away, an anecdote about some Archdeacon of St. Peter's, Rome, &c. The sacramentary text is beautifully written in round Anglo-Saxon characters of the tenth century, according to Schenkl; prayers by an abbess for herself, followed by versicles and collect for travellers or pilgrims. It is interesting to find such prayers for a woman's use, most early service-books being for priests. The main text of the volume, St. Gregory on Ezekiel, is beautifully written in a large, bold hand, with large, well-decorated red and blue initials and brief red notes in the margins. Each homily has a red title and a bold red, blue, or green initial.

P. iv. 5, Stephen Langton's Tropologia on the Minor Prophets, is inscribed inside the cover: "Istum librum dedit Adam de Elmeleye eclesie *sancti* gutlaci *Here*fordie, et habet panem in die obitus sui in perpetuum." The donor is mentioned in the Gloucester Cartulary as follows (vol. i., p. 32): "Anno Domini 1273 obiit Adam de Elmeleye, monachus huius loci, qui propter ipsius sanctitatem coram altari Sanctæ Crucis in magna ecclesia ad petitionem populi sepelitur, pro cuius amore Dominus ibidem multa miracula operatur." The Altar of the Holy Cross would be just in front of the rood loft, at the East end of the nave, so if

[1] If we could think that this abbess was head of St. Peter's Minster at Gloucester the prayers must have come down from very early times, as there seem to have been no abbesses there after the eighth century.—ED.

the tomb was a conspicuous one it may have been the most prominent object in the nave.

Canon Bazeley informs me "Adam de Elmeleye shares the privilege of having miracles performed at his tomb with Harold, who was murdered by the Jews in 1168 and was buried in the Chapel of St. Edward and St. Edmund, the central chapel of the crypt, and with St. Arild. Adam took his name from Elmley, on the slopes of Bredon Hill." Abbot Thomas de Bredon is an instance of the connection of the monastery with the locality, and his influence may have attracted Adam de Elmeleye to the monastery.

When the Hereford MSS. were being catalogued in 1611 the librarian had, I suppose, forgotten that this MS. had come from St. Guthlac's, and inserted Adam de Elmeley in our list of donors to the Cathedral Library, whence it was supposed he might have belonged to the Herefordshire parish of Almeley, which was mentioned in Domesday among the possessions of St. Guthlac's. There is no mention of it, however, in the Cartulary, so I suppose it had ceased to belong to St. Guthlac's before that was given to Gloucester Abbey.

The treatise is beautifully written in close, small, rather cursive hands, with blue and red flourished initials, and some red titles in the margin; the quotations of the text are in most parts underlined in red.

It begins, "Tropologia super duodecim *proph*e*t*as collecta ad lectiones magistri Stepani de Longetune. Ossa prophetarum duodecim pullulant de loco suo . . ." If it is the substance of his lectures while he was at Paris University, as perhaps the simple title Magister implies, it is quite an early work of his. The colophon, however, which is in the margin and partly cut off by the binder, reads: "[Explici]t exp*ositi*o libri [duodeci]m *proph*e*tarum* [. . .] uenerabi[li Cantuari]e po*n*tifice [Stephan]o de longe[tune]." This is in black; the rubricator was intended to copy it into a blank ruled space at the end of the treatise.

At the beginning and end are some extracts from Augustine on Genesis, &c.

Besides his greatness as archbishop and statesman, Stephen Langton has been called "next to Bede, the most voluminous and original commentator on the Scriptures this country has produced," and as a theologian "second to none in his own day." Our modern division of the Bible into chapters has been attributed to him. His commentary on the XII. Prophets is mainly mystical, dealing largely with interpretations of proper names. In lecturing he first read the text and the usual glosses, then expounded at length clause by clause. He begins thus: "The bones of the Prophets sprout forth out of their place." (Ecclus. xlvi. 12.) "Surely there is a vein for silver, and a place for gold . . ." Silver means God's Word; the vein, theological books, from which God's Word is dug out. Gold is Heavenly Wisdom, gained from God's Word; in three places, the mouth of teachers, the ears of their hearers, and the hands of both teachers and hearers performing it. Thus the bones of the XII. Prophets sprout from their places, from tongue, mind, works: the bones are their spiritual meaning; for the flesh is the weak, frail, literal sense—the bones the strong spiritual sense, the marrow hid in them is the sweetness of celestial tropology. (Tropologia seems to mean figurative speech, allegory; it was used by Jerome,[1] but it was not intelligible to all even in the Middle Ages, for Osbern's Dictionary merely explains it as "apologia, excusatio.")

Then follows a sketch of the history of Israel: how Jeroboam's idolatry was partly repressed by prophetic

[1] Epist. cxx., ad Hedibiam. "In tropology we rise from the letter to greater things, and whatever happened carnally among the elder (Jewish) people, we interpret in a moral sense, and turn it to our soul's edification." So Peter Comestor says, "History teaches what was done, Tropology what ought to be done, Allegory what should be believed, Anagogy what should be desired [in Heaven]. Apparently Tropology applied texts morally to the soul, Allegory to Christ, the Church, &c., Anagogy prophetically to Heavenly things.'

denunciations, till Ahab and Jezebel gave it new vigour; Jehu did not wholly abolish it, and in Jeroboam II.'s time it had so increased that the prophets were obliged to write as well as utter their prophecies—hence the origin of the XII. Prophets. Their outward subject is the ten tribes and the two, signifying inwardly the good (the two) and the wicked (the ten). Their outward intention is to recall the Jewish people from idolatry; their inward to join the members [of Christ] to the Head.

Then after reading a verse or two of the text and glosses, he returns to the beginning, explaining Hosea allegorically as Christ, his wife as the Gentile Church. "The word of the Lord," is our Saviour. Beeri = "my wells," is God the Father; and he quotes a variety of verses about wells, which have living springs within them, whereas lakes or cisterns only receive and cool water from elsewhere, and so on.

P. iii. 5, lettered on the back "Sermones," is inscribed on the flyleaf: "Ricardus de Newintoñ dedit hunc librum prior[atui ?] Hereford." It is not *quite* clear that this was St. Guthlac's, for in the late thirteenth century there were also Franciscan and Dominican priories at Hereford, but I think it is practically certain. (The Franciscan books usually bore their shelf-mark, and quite a different inscription.) Richard de Newington I can find nothing about: presumably he took his name from Newington Bagpath, a village on the Cotteswolds near Dursley, of which the Abbey held the Advowson. John, Thomas and Walter of Newington appear in the Cartulary, among witnesses of thirteenth-century charters, as inhabitants of Gloucester; perhaps Richard was son of one of them.

The book contains no authors' names, but appears to be portions of several authors bound together. It is chiefly composed of quires of eight leaves, and in several cases the author changes with the quire, which seems sometimes to be arranged so that the contents end with the end of the quire; in other cases the quire breaks off with an unfinished work—

one quire at least has been almost entirely torn out, another is partly torn, two have scraps of writing sewn in between the leaves, and in several pages there are blank spaces, after which the next page begins afresh with another subject. It is rather like a commonplace book, in which sermons and religious observations were entered; but I think the quires are not all bound in their proper order, and if they were rearranged and some missing quires supplied they might form some three or four small volumes of sermons by distinct authors. The first nine quires have signatures on the last page, numbered i. to x. (quire ix. being missing); the others have no signature, though often catchwords; once or twice slanting lines on the opposite pages are used instead to show which quires should be bound together. But on the last page of quire 17 a sermon is begun, and partly erased, with the note below in the margin, "Hic sermo sequenti tercio folio inuenitur"—that is to say, the sermon had already been written on the third leaf of the next quire, so each quire must have been written simultaneously by different monks, and when they were brought together the chief of the scriptorium (very likely the precentor) cancelled the beginning of the sermon because it had already been written in full. But this sermon is found on leaf 3 of quire 8, so that quire must at first have followed the present quire 17; yet the quires 1 to 8 have continuous numbered signatures, so the signatures must be later than the original arrangement. I mention this because it throws some light on the habits of the scriptorium; where it was evidently usual to begin a quire with a longer sermon or treatise, and if that did not fill the quire, or overflowed into part of the next quire, the space was usually filled with little sermons or paragraphs, though sometimes left blank. For this purpose of filling up quires much use was made of a collection of "sententiæ" or miscellaneous paragraphs on religious subjects attributed to St. Bernard, most of which is to be found in this volume, among a number of longer sermons of the same author, and a number of his sermonettes are similarly used.

These collections of sententiæ seem a feature of the twelfth century; perhaps their nearest modern parallel is in the books of selections from the writings of Pusey, or similar authors, which are sometimes drawn up for popular circulation. These sententiæ, however, in many cases seem not extracts, but perhaps sermon notes or religious table-talk. A large proportion begin with "there are three (or four, or seven) states of" the soul, or the Church, &c., or "there are three grades of" penitence, humility, &c., a form of sentence serving as an aid to memory, and also as heads for sermons, &c. For instance, "There are three dwellings of the soul—heaven, hell, and earth; heaven, where are only saints; hell, where are only sinners; and earth, where they are mingled." Many, however, are much longer than this. A collection of this sort is printed with the works of Hugh of St. Victor; Anselm's Similitudes is a somewhat similar work.

Quire 1 of this volume contains some anonymous matter of this sort, besides sermons 64, 74, and 17, in the Appendix to St. Augustine, tom. v., with sermons on John xii. 26 (Et uide fructum qui sequitur . . .), Gen. i. 26 (Que imago . . .), John x. 11 (Ad humilitatem nos reuocare), &c., whose author I have not found.

Quire 2 contains most of Hugh of St. Victor on certain Psalms, breaking off at Psalm xlii. 7; and quire 4 begins with three things of his—part of his Miscellanea (Spiritus diiudicat omnia . . .), De quatuor voluntatibus in Christo, and De potestate et voluntate Dei; with four others I have not identified.

Quires 3, 5, 6, 7 contain sermons, sermonettes, and sententiæ of St. Bernard; quire 3 including sermons 7 to 10 on the Psalm Qui habitat, &c.; quire 6 is chiefly on Scriptural subjects; quire 7 four sermons on All Saints, St. Martin, Origen, &c.

Quires 8, 10, 16, and 17 are anonymous sermons (quire 9 is missing); quires 8 and 17 chiefly on Scriptural subjects; quires 10 and 16 chiefly for festivals.

Quires 11 to 15 and 18 are St. Bernard's, chiefly sermons

for festivals, Ad Clericos de Conversione, on the death of St. Malachy (with the epistle), &c.; quire 19 is entirely occupied with his sententiæ; quire 20 contains most of his (or rather his disciple Geofrey's) Declamatio on "Ecce nos reliquimus omnia," with table of chapters, as in O. i. 2, breaking off abruptly.

The rest of the book is similar, of unknown authorship, including a little treatise on the Virgin from the text, "Que est ista que ascendit sicut aurora . . ." The latter quires are much torn, one nearly destroyed. Probably all the anonymous parts of the book are the work of twelfth-century authors, most likely French or English. The covers are lined with leaves of other books; that at the beginning is part of a closely-written treatise, perhaps on the death of the righteous; that at the end is part of an antiphonary with music, containing antiphons to Benedictus and Magnificat, &c., from the second Wednesday in Advent to the beginning of Matins on the third Sunday; it chiefly agrees with the Sarum Breviary.

O. iii. 3, Summula Casuum Raimundi fratris ordinis Prædicatorum, cum glossa et præfatione, is inscribed in red, "Liber monachorum beate Marie de Flaxleye." On the verso of the last leaf is a name, perhaps Hen*ricus* Corand, though the first name has been read as Hew and the second may be Corrine, or some such form. Below, in a clear formal italic hand, sixteenth or seventeenth century, is the librarian's inscription: "Iste liber partinet ad librariam Heref*ordie?* ex dono hugonis corand doctor diuinitatis." Thus in this case we know how the volume reached our library, though not how the donor obtained it. The only person that can be easily suggested as the donor is Hugh Coren or Curwin, Dean of Hereford from 1541 to 1558, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Oxford, his reputation resembling that of the Vicar of Bray, if worse reports are unfounded. But he was not D.D., but D.C.L., and the name is spelt differently. One of the same name (perhaps the same person) was the last Prior of Bridgnorth, and the name

seems to have remained in Hereford; so I hope this volume may be the gift of some less notorious namesake of the dean, who seems to have owed his deanery to his advocacy of Anne Boleyn's marriage.

The volume is small and ugly, the initials never having been filled in, and clumsy rebinding rendering it awkward to open, though the vellum is white and thin. It is written in quires of twelve leaves, once of sixteen. The treatise is a manual of casuistry for the guidance of parish priests in hearing confessions; it is divided into three books—on duty to God, duty to men, and clerical duties. A supplementary treatise on Marriage, usually at the end, is I think towards the middle. The author, Raymond of Pennaforte, third General of the Dominicans, was author of the five books of Decretals; he lived about 1175—1275, and obtained canonisation.

O. v. 5, Gregory the Great's Moralia on Job, is inscribed on the verso of the third flyleaf (facing the text) ÷ 𝕮 : 16‴ (a library shelf-mark? the first sign perhaps standing for *est*), "Lib*ri* Moralium b*ea*ti *gregorii* Pape, de *commun*itate fr*atru*m m*in*or*um* Glov*er*nie." Inside the front cover is an erased column of pledge-entries, which only vary as to the date and price, not the person. The first is: "Cautela doctoris [Ricardi] Netherton, ordinis minorum, exposita in cista Vienne a*nno* d*omin*i 1439, xi die mensis Octobris, et iacet pro 30 solidis." The last date is 1449, and the price 20*s*. There are many erased pencil entries on the flyleaves—verses, theology, &c

This volume, beautiful in its fine, thin vellum and its close, neat writing, is illuminated with many minute but very beautiful initials. One at the beginning, R, contains the Pope enthroned, with pastoral staff, giving his benediction; his garments are blue over white, on a gold ground; the letter is dark blue, decorated with little white rings, with an outer pink ground. Another, D (in this shape Ꝓ), contains a satyr holding a dragon's jaw and spearing its throat; the same colours with red, brown, and yellow. Another, V,

contains a mermaid shooting an arrow towards the left. The other initials are without figures, but very beautifully decorated. The book is chiefly written in quires of sixteen, and is foliated throughout.

It ends, "Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo," with which this account may fitly conclude. I shall be thankful if any of its readers can give me any further information about the writings or the persons mentioned. Such an account as this can hardly fail to be dull in parts, except to those specially interested in such subjects, but I hope it may reach some to whom it may contribute some fact of interest, and may give others a faint idea of what Gloucestershire books were like seven centuries ago. I must gratefully acknowledge the suggestions of Dr. M. R. James; and have been much assisted by H. Schenkl's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, which gives a catalogue of the Hereford MSS. with careful references.

UNFINISHED LEAF OF [GLOUCESTER?] KALENDAR FOR JULY.

(From the first flyleaf of P. vi. 1.)

xix.		Octaue s*ancti* Johannis.
viii. A.	vi.	S*anctorum* Processi *et* Martiniani *et* s*ancti* Swithuni ep*iscopi*.
	v.	
xvi.	iiii.	Ordinatio s*ancti* Martini siue Translatio.
v.	iii.	
	ii.	
xiii.		
ii.	viii.	S*anct*i Grimbaldi confessoris.
A.	vii.	
x.	vi.	S*anctorum Septem* Fratrum.
	v.	
xviii.	iiii.	
vii.	iii.	
	ii.	
xv.		

iiii. A.	xvii.	
	xvi.	*Sancti* Kenelmi m*artyris*.
xii.	xv.	
i.	xiiii.	S*ancte* Margarite virg*inis et* m*artyris*, et s*ancte* Arildis v*irginis et* m*artyris*.
	xiii.	S*ancte* Praxedis v*irginis*.
ix.	xii.	
	xi.	S*ancti* Apollinaris ep*iscopi et* m*artyris*.
xvii. A.	x.	S*ancte* Cristine v*irginis et* m*artyris*.
vi.	ix.	
	viii.	
xiiii.	vii.	
iii.	vi.	
	v.	
xi.	iiii.	
A.	iii.	
xix.	ii.	

[All the names following St. Kenelm should be one day later. The red letter feasts were not added. St. Arildis was a Gloucester saint: see O. i. 2.]

TWO PAGES OF AN ANGLO-SAXON SERVICE BOOK.

(From the last flyleaf of P. vi. 1.)

-menti mee fortitudinem fidei, altitudine*m* spei, sinceritati tua*m* simul et fraterna*m* dilectione*m* propitius respirare dignare, qui uiuis.

D*eu*s qui semp*er* gaudes in op*er*ib*us* bonis, et in deuotione uel desiderio fideliu*m* tuoru*m*, te supplex deprecor ut me famula*m* tua*m*, qua*m* frequente*r* mandata tua neglexisse cognoscis, p*er* intercessionem s*ancti* benedicti confessoris tui seu om*n*ium confessoru*m* tuoru*m* emendationem ac penitentia*m* facis esse deuota*m*, ut que usque modo a bonitatis officio impia prauitate discesseram, tua omni-pote*n*s d*eu*s inspiratione conversa ad uera*m* libertate*m* de laqueis diaboli in quibus teneor captiua euadere merear inlesa, p*er*.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui facis mirabilia magna solus, pretende super me miserrimam famulam tuam et super cunctam congregationem mihi indigne commissam spiritum gratie salutaris et ut in ueritate tibi complaceamus, perpetuum nobis rorem tue benedictinis† infunde, per.

Domine gratia tua nos semper protegas et Christianis omnibus viuentibus atque defunctis misericordiam tuam ubique pretende ut viuentes ab omnibus inpugnationibus defensi tua opitulatione saluentur. Et defuncti remissionem mereantur suorum omnium accipere peccatorum per dominum.

Vias tuas domine demonstra eis. et semitas tuas eis.

Perfice gressus eorum in semitis tuis edoce eis.

Beati inmaculati in via qui ambulant in lege domini.

Lucerna pedibus eorum verbum tuum domine. *et* lumen semitis eorum.

Gressus eorum dirige domine secundum eloquium tuum ut non dominetur eis omnis iniustitia.

PRO ITER AGENTIBUS. Angelus domini bonus comitetur vobiscum. ad dirigendos pedes vestros in viam pacis ut peracto obedientie cursu. ad nos iterum reuertamini cum gaudio. *per.*

Famulos tuos et famulas tuas omnes circumadstantes hic et ubique queso domine tua semper protectione custodi ut liberis tibi mentibus.

HYMN[1] AND COLLECT FOR ST. ARILDIS.

(From the third flyleaf of O. i. 2.)

In Arildis memoria
Plaude mater ecclesia,
Nos ad eius preconia
Vocum demus officia.

Hec se Christo dedicauit,
In quo trinum hostem strauit,
Hec se prorsus abnegauit,
Et cum Deo ambulauit.

[1] More correctly an *Oratio Rythmica.*—M. R. J.

Virgo prudens, sponsa Christi,
Per quem mundo illusisti,
Et decorem induisti,
Jam amicta lumine,
Carne munda, mente pura,
Certans contra carnis iura,
Nunquam sponso caritura
In celesti culmine.

Gentem finesque Gloucestrie
Illustrant tue reliquie;
Succurre nostre miserie
Ut per te uiuamus in requie.

O Arildis, O huius cenobii
Aduocatrix, et spes solatii,
Ad te mater clamamus filii,
Fac nos consortes materni gaudii.

Christo tuo pro nobis loquere,
Fac in eius odore currere,
Fac nos sponsum tuum agnoscere,
In quem delectant angeli prospicere. Amen.

Deus, qui uirginitatem beate Arildis dignitate martyrii decorasti, quique locum istum sacris eiusdem reliquiis illustrasti; precibus ipsius da nobis indulgentiam, et loco isti perpetuam securitatem, per dominum.

FORM FOR THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF LAY OPPONENTS OF THE CHURCH.

(From P. iii. 2, fol. 39, following the Epistle to the Hebrews.)

Ex auctoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis, et filii eius domini nostri Iesu Christi, et spiritus sancti, excuminicamus (*sic*) et anathematizamus, et a liminibus sancte Dei ecclesie sequestramus, eos qui hoc maleficium fecerunt uel consenserunt, uel partem aliquam inde scientes habuerunt, uel habituri sunt. Priuamus ergo eos ab omnium bonorum consortio, ut nullam partem uel communionem cum Chris-

tianis habeant, uel possideant. Maledicat ergo illos sancta Dei genitrix uirgo semper Maria, Maledicant eos potestates celi et terre, maledicant patriarche et prophete, Maledicat sanctus Petrus princeps apostolorum cum omnibus apostolis. Maledicat eos sanctus Stephanus cum omnibus martiribus; maledicat sanctus Martinus cum omnibus confessoribus. Maledicat eos sancta Maria Magdalena cum omnibus uirginibus. Maledicant eos omnes sancti Dei qui fuerunt ab initio mundi uel futuri sunt usque ad consummationem seculi. Sint igitur maledicti eundo, sedendo, loquendo, dormiendo, uigilando, comedendo, bibendo, seu quamcunque rem faciendo. Maledicti sint in domo, et extra domum, in agro et extra agrum, in foro et extra forum. Maledicti sint in silua, in aqua, in mari, et in omni loco ubicunque sub celo fuerint. Sint igitur dampnati cum Dathan et Abironc quos terra uiuus absorbuit. Sint dampnati cum Juda traditore Domini quem nec terra sustinuit, nec celum recepit, sed laqueo suspensus medius crepuit. Sint dampnati cum eis qui dixerunt domino suo recede a nobis, scientiam enim uiarum tuarum nolumus. Et sicut candela extinguitur ista, sic extinguatur memoria eorum ante Deum, et demergantur in inforno inferiori, nisi quoquo modo ad emendationem et satisfactionem uenerint, aut per se aut per alios hoc idem dampnum manifestauerint, amen, amen. Fiat, Fiat.

Notices of Publications.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I. By W. H. Frere. London: Macmillan & Co. 1904.

It is a very remarkable thing that many people who could give a very fair account of the history of the Reformation in England down to the death of Queen Mary would be very much at a loss if they were asked to carry on the story through the reign of her sister. And it is as unfortunate as it is strange that this should be so, because it was in the reign of Elizabeth rather than in the days of her father or her brother that the constitution of the English Church took its present form; and it is on the nature and history of the Elizabethan settlement rather than on matters which occurred in earlier reigns that attacks are now chiefly directed. It is only too true that the Church history of the reign of Elizabeth is not an attractive subject, for the Church of England—at any rate, in the early part of that period—was a very unlovely thing. Her beautiful churches were defaced, her bishops were for the most part men of mean capacity and low ideals, her clergy were insufficient in number, too often unlearned, and drawing their model of church government and worship from Germany and Switzerland rather than from the Book of Common Prayer, while the lay people were divided in opinion and distracted by Recusancy and Nonconformity. Yet it is impossible to understand the position of the Church of England without a clear knowledge of the history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it would be quite true to say that no part of the history of that Church has been more often misrepresented and misunderstood than that of the forty years which followed the death of Queen Mary. From this point of view a book which should give a short, clear and accurate account of the Church history of the period has been much needed, and Mr. Frere's book goes a very long way to supply the need. It has evidently been very carefully worked out, and at the end of each chapter is an excellent list of authorities bearing on the subject which has been dealt with. The work is a real addition to the knowledge of the period, fair, accurate and thorough, and is all the more helpful because

the clever chapter on the Elizabethan settlement in the Reformation volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* is so very untrustworthy.

With regard to the book itself, there is a very careful account of the early months of the Queen's reign, the difficulties with the Marian bishops, and the difficulties—no less serious—with the Edwardine exiles, who had imbibed on the continent principles quite at variance with the Book of Common Prayer, and who in very many cases accepted the book not because they agreed with it, but because they hoped to make it quite other than what it was. When they had fled from England in the time of Queen Mary the Lutheran districts of Germany, being more under the influence of the emperor, had done little to receive them, so they took refuge chiefly in Switzerland, and when they returned their purpose was to reform the Church of England on a Swiss model—Calvinistic in theology and Presbyterian in discipline. Those who became bishops were for the most part very slack in enforcing conformity, while many of the clergy more or less completely disobeyed the directions of the Prayer Book. Mr. Frere traces out patiently and thoroughly the developement and growth of this foreign model in the English Church—first in flat disobedience, and then when the Queen's arm was too strong, through the "prophesyings," culminating in the audacious attempt by means of *classes* to set up a Presbyterian system under the Episcopate, and thus by cutting away the ground from beneath its feet to evacuate Episcopal government of all real power. No less difficult were the conditions which arose from those who adhered to the Marian régime. Cardinal Vaughan [1] estimated that at the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the adherents of the old religion numbered half the population of the country, and if the estimate includes all who preferred the Catholicism of Henry VIII. or of Mary to the Protestantism of Edward VI., the estimate is certainly not beyond the mark. In this sense the Queen must be reckoned among the adherents of the old religion. At first the men of the Roman religion were tenderly dealt with, for it was seen that their system must die out for lack of clergy; and as the Pope also stayed his hand against the Queen, there was peace so far as the adherents of Rome were concerned. But when in June, 1570, Pope Pius V excommunicated the Queen, and soon afterwards constant relays of secular priests, Jesuits, and Benedictine monks from abroad invaded the land, the penal laws were put in force, and death, which was so often plotted against the Queen, was meted out unsparingly to the invaders. Above this *chaos rudis indigestaque moles* of Popery and Protestantism, Recusancy and Non-conformity, quiet devotion and bitter partizanship, which made up the English Church, one figure—that of the Queen—stands out clear and supreme. Ever ready to act on the principle, *Parcere subjectis et debellare*

[1] *Encyc. Brit.*, ed. x., vol. xxxii., p. 275.

superbos, the quiet Romanist and the devout Puritan might dwell in peace, the stubborn Recusant and the stiff Nonconformist alike were crushed. Two principles guided her action in Church matters: first, that the bishops must rely on their spiritual authority—over and over again when they sought aid from the secular arm they were forced to do their own work themselves; and, secondly, that the secular power must not interfere in spiritual things. With at least equal frequency when members of the House of Commons strove to interfere in Church matters they were sharply snubbed, and told to leave spiritual matters to spiritual men. The Queen's strength lay in the fact that she knew her own mind, and the strength of the Roman Recusant and the Protestant Nonconformist lay in the same fact. The weakness of the English Church lay in the fact that the Anglican Episcopate did not know its own mind. With its body in England and its heart in Geneva or Zurich, it was feeble and ineffective. The characters of the Queen and her archbishops are clearly and fairly drawn. Elizabeth was a true daughter of her father, with all his ability and skill in reading the minds of the people and drawing them to herself, yet with a policy and self-control in government taught by adversity which he never possessed. Without a shred of sympathy with Protestantism in its Lutheran or Calvinistic forms, she would probably have preferred the Church system in force during the last years of her father's life, but was wise enough to see that she must be content with her brother's English book. Hers was the hand that enforced conformity to the book and moulded the Church into shape. Parker, the quiet student, who accepted the primacy so unwillingly, and yet who by his love for all that was good in the old system, his learning and his moderation, worked for good by his gentleness, as the Queen worked by her strength; Grindal, in whom mildness and sympathy sank into weakness; Whitgift, the prelate after the queen's own heart, a Calvinist in doctrine though a thorough Episcopalian in discipline, yet one who knew well how to moderate the severity both of his doctrine and his discipline — was learned, upright, and generous: these were the three or four who moulded the Church of England into a form which could contain themselves and Cartwright and Hooker, as three centuries later it contained Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Pusey, and Mr. Maurice; and it is doubtful whether a National Church for so individualistic a people as the English could have been framed on any narrower basis.

Mr. Frere's book will take a worthy place in the series of Histories o the English Church of which it forms a part, and it may be trusted to give an accurate, broad-minded and sympathetic account of the very important period concerning which he has written. There is not much of a specially local character. Bishop Cheyney, who was consecrated to the See of Gloucester in 1562, and who held the Diocese of Bristol *in*

commendam, was one of the few prelates of the period not under the influence of Calvinism, and was more than once in trouble on account of his so-called Lutheranism. Mr. Frere, like most writers on the period, assumes that Celebrations of the Holy Communion were infrequent; but this conclusion is not borne out by a series of entries in the wardens' accounts of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, for 1589. Easter fell on March 30th, and there are entries for the cost of bread and wine on every Sunday from March 16th to April 27th, also on Sundays, May 18th and 25th, and June 1st, 8th, 22nd, and 29th, as well as on Lady Day, Maundy Thursday, and Easter Eve. Generally the cost of the elements is stated by one or two entries in each year only. The Vestiarian controversy is carefully and not too lengthily dealt with. Concerning this matter, "one Embroidered Cope of Velvet" is mentioned in the wardens' inventory of property belonging to St. Thomas' Church in 1616, and if the wardens' accounts of the old Bristol churches were examined it would probably be found that the ancient vestments survived at least till the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They certainly remained in some of the churches, as the cope-chest has remained at St. Mary Redcliff to this day. But Bristol was happy in having no specially-marked ecclesiastical history at this period.

REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND. By BERTRAM C. WINDLE, F.R.S. London: METHUEN & Co. 1904.

THE purpose of the book is stated to be to give an account of the present state of knowledge respecting the relics of prehistoric man in this country, and it may be said at once that the work is thoroughly well done. The book, of course, is addressed in the first instance to those who have a general but not very extensive knowledge of the subject; and to them it will be most helpful as giving thoroughly trustworthy information concerning the subject dealt with. While those whose knowledge is more advanced will find it useful as an accurate book of reference with regard to the elements of the subjects included in its scope. Special mention should be made of the figures, for in a series of subjects where so much depends on comparatively small points of difference, accurate representation of details is absolutely needful. There are nearly one hundred illustrations, most of which have been specially drawn, and it is quite true to say that they are both well chosen and well executed. With regard to the method in which the subject is treated there is a refreshing absence of writing for the purpose of proving one aspect or another of a controverted subject; the facts are related clearly and systematically, and they are not veiled under clouds of theories. As an instance of this clear, fair writing the ten pages at the end of the book on the "Physical Remains

of Prehistoric Man" may be particularly mentioned. The question of the date and method of the appearance of the animal man on the earth is a purely physical one; but anyone who recollects the thick clouds of prejudices and prepossessions and mistakes and hasty judgments which have obscured the discussion of the question in the last generation will be grateful for the few pages of clear light which are here given. Not much can be said on the subject in the space, but what is said is plain and to the point.

After an introductory chapter the writer proceeds to speak of the method of manufacture of stone implements, and of the different types of stone implements; then of implements of copper, bronze, and bone. Afterwards there are chapters on burial places—long and round barrows; megalithic remains; earthworks—camps and dykes; early habitations—pit-dwellings, pile-dwellings, and so forth; the early Iron Age; and finally on the physical remains of prehistoric man. At the end of each chapter there is a list of localities in England where the objects described have been found, or may be seen. With regard to these lists, as the writer says, they are experimental; but they will be found to be very helpful. They do not claim to be perfect; as an instance of error, the little dolmen at Stoke Bishop is mentioned under Somerset. The writer well remembers other stones evidently of a similar character which lay on the east side of the road to Coombe Dingle, but which disappeared about forty years ago what time a neighbouring road was metalled. Farmer Green, of Avebury, has his brethren in other shires. Though flint arrowheads are common on Cotswold, our district is not strong as representative of the Stone Age; but from the Bronze Age onwards there are few parts of England which afford better opportunities of studying the remains of prehistoric man than Gloucestershire and its surrounding districts. The Bristol Museum contains the bronze palstaves found a few years ago at Coombe Dingle, and another found at Banwell. There is hardly any better example in England of a long barrow than that at Uley, and Mr. Witts mentions forty long barrows as existing in Gloucestershire, while he records the existence of no fewer than 126 round barrows. So far as barrows and earthworks are concerned, no county in England has a better guide than that which is provided by Mr. G. B. Witts in his *Archæological Hand-book to Gloucestershire*. The Dolmen at Druids' Stoke is the only one in our district; it is now in the city of Bristol, and is probably the only structure of the sort existing in one of the great boroughs of England. Building operations are drawing perilously near to it, but as it lies close to a high road there ought to be no difficulty in preserving it from destruction. Four menihirion, or standing stones, are mentioned as existing on Cotswold, also the remains of a circle near Marshfield. With regard to earthworks, camps, and dykes, Mr. Witts

mentions no fewer than 112 examples of these works in Gloucestershire. Dwellers in all parts of our district will find them close to their doors—from the Clifton camps above the Suspension Bridge to Meon Hill Camp near Stratford-on-Avon, and from Offa's dyke by the Wye to Salmonsbury by Bourton-on-the-Water, near the Oxfordshire border. They are of all types. There are promontory forts—(*a*) by the sea like the "Bulwarks" at Beachley, where Buttington Tump still marks the place of victory over the Danes in 894; (*b*) inland, like the great fort on Bredon Hill, a plan of which is given. Hill-forts whose shape is determined by the form of the hill on which they stand, such as Oldbury Camp, near Thornbury, where the rings run round the hill. But complete circles are not common in Gloucestershire hill-camps as they are in Wilts and Dorset. More often the rings cut off a part of the level ground above an escarpment like Dyrham Camp, the scene of one of the decisive battles in English history, where Ceawlin in 577, by his victory over the Britons, won access for the West Saxons to the Severn Sea. Finally there are the plateau camps, which are situated on ground which is almost, or quite, flat. Such a camp is Salmonsbury, near Bourton-on-the-Water, which was very likely the scene of the crushing vengeance wreaked by Edwin of Northumbria in 626 on Cuichelm, of the West Saxons, who had tried to murder him. Other camps of the same kind are Norbury, near Northleach, and Bury Hill, near Winterbourne. Sodbury Camp is a good example of Roman work. Of dykes—boundary or otherwise—Offa's dyke starts from the entrenchments at Beachley and extends to the Dee; it is the longest work of the kind in the country, extending over more than 100 miles, half as long again as the Roman wall and about twice as long as Wansdyke. But for practical purposes the most instructive earthworks in our district are those at Bagendon, three miles north of Cirencester. Pit-dwellings may be seen at Drakestone, on Stinchcombe Hill, and at Westridge Hill, in Wotton-under-Edge, as well as near Amberley and in other places. Thus, with the exception of lake-dwellings and remains of the Stone Age, our district gives admirable examples of the various kinds of relics of prehistoric man found in England; while Salisbury and Glastonbury are not far distant, and the Blackmore Museum at the former place contains one of the most instructive collections of stone implements in the country, and the museum at Glastonbury contains a good collection of objects found in the lake-village. At the end of the book is a suggestive list of English museums, showing the points in which each museum is deficient or most helpful. Altogether the book may be thoroughly recommended as providing a trustworthy introduction to its subject and as a good preparation for the study of the classical works which bear upon it. There is a helpful index.

PLACE-NAMES OF SCOTLAND. By JAMES B. JOHNSTON, B.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: DAVID DOUGLAS. 1903.

THE first edition of this book was published twelve years ago, so that the writer has had plenty of time to revise his earlier conclusions. By far the larger number of the pages are occupied with an alphabetical list of the place-names of Scotland, which is specially helpful because it gives under each name not only the meaning which the writer supposes the name to bear, but also ancient forms of the name with the dates at which they occur. Thus, for instance, it seems likely that the book may throw some light on the origin of the name Pennyquick Bottom in Twerton, and we find: PENICUICK (Midlothian). 1250, Penicock; 1296, -ycoke. W. *pen-y-cog*, "hill of the cuckoo." No doubt it is likely that in so go-as-you-please a pursuit as that of place-names some readers will disagree with the meaning assigned, but at any rate the ancient forms provide to some extent a check on the imagination of the writer and a guide to the thoughts of the readers of the book. The more important names such as *Edinburgh* are fully dealt with. This place-name seems—like Malmesbury—to be capable of a double derivation. On the one hand there is the very ancient Irish form *Etin* in 638 leading on to *Oppidum Eden* in 970, and *dùn eadain*, fort on the hill slope, which it is noted exactly suits the case, *burgh* being the English for *dun*. On the other hand, *Ecclesia Sancte Crucis Edwinesburgensis* occurs in a Holyrood Charter about 1128, and Edwin of Northumbria died in 633, an earlier date than that of the oldest of the forms mentioned. A curious variant is *oppidum puellarum*, about 1140, suggesting a form like *Maidenburgh*, as Maiden Castle occurs in Dorset, though this last has nothing to do with girls. This alphabetical list, which probably contains about four thousand entries, is of course not intended to be an exhaustive list, but it probably gives a good idea of the nature of Scottish place-names. Some of these names are very quaint; thus the Northumbrian *Blink Bonny*, the name of one of the triad of fillies which have won the Derby, is said to signify *Belle Vue*, a signification which would have certainly satisfied Mr. I'Anson if he watched the race in 1857; while *Glower-o'er-em*, the name of a farm which commands a noble view over Bamburgh and the Farne Islands is thus glossed: "Name of a hill with a fine view. Scottish *glower* is to stare, gaze." Possibly it was one of the spots whence men looked out over the storm-tossed sea during the five days in March, 687, when St Cuthbert lay dying alone and untended on Farne. There are separate chapters on Celtic, Norse, English and ecclesiastical names, while Roman, Norman, and purely modern names have a chapter between them. Englishmen may well leave the Celtic names to the dwellers north of Forth and Clyde. But with regard to the Norse names, as Mr. Johnston remarks: "Broad Scots, both in vocabulary

and pronunciation, approximates in scores of cases far more closely to Danish and Icelandic than modern English does." This witness is true. The present writer was once told by an officer of the Bergen Steamship Company that he brought some workmen from Glasgow to Norway to fit some of the steamers with electric light, that he then told the Scotchmen to talk broad Scots as broadly as they could, and they got on very well with their Norse companions with a little help from time to time. So there is some doubt whether certain place-names are Norse or English; but Orkney and Shetland and large parts of the north and western coasts are thoroughly Scandinavian in their nomenclature. English names are of course common south of Forth and Clyde, except in the south-western land of Strathclyde Celt and Norseman; but even so many names seem to be English that are not English, especially those which contain *ing* or *ton*. The ecclesiastical names are very interesting. In Orkney and Shetland we find *papa* used for a priest, just as every Russian parish priest is a pope now. Still more singular is *Quanterness* near Kirkwall, the See of the Bishop of Orkney, which is thus glossed: "From Icelandic *Kantari*, *i.e.* Canterbury, and meaning Bishop." Christianity came to Norway, Orkney, Shetland, and Iceland from England through the agency of the two Kings Olaf and certain combative bishops and priests, and so it came to pass that the bishops of these northern isles took the title of their office from Canterbury. The early Celtic missionary saints have left their mark on the place-names of the country. St. Ninian and St. Columba have each given a name to half a hundred churches, and even St. Martin, the teacher of St. Ninian, has his church; but in very many cases it is difficult to recognise the name of the saint in its present form. There are very few undoubted Roman names even in the south; the Normans came to Scotland too late to call their lands by their own names; the close intimacy between France and Scotland in later times left no mark in this way; and the modern names are, as usual, tasteless and uninteresting. How far the book is a trustworthy guide it is impossible for a southerner to say, but it is evident that much care has been taken in its compilation and the antiquary as well as the historian and the philologist will find much that is both helpful and interesting in its pages.

SOCIAL ENGLAND: A Record of the Progress of the People. Illustrated Edition. Six volumes. London: CASSELL & Co. 1901–04.

THE plan of *Social England* is probably familiar enough. The purpose is to show the social growth of the people as the history of the nation developed, and the purpose is thoroughly well worked out in a series of articles on various subjects by writers specially competent to deal with them It is true that this method presupposes a fairly thorough knowledge

of the outlines of English history, but the book does not profess to be an elementary one. It must be understood that this is not simply an illustrated issue of the original edition; it is essentially a new work, with an enlarged series of subjects, dealt with by additional writers. With regard to the illustrations, which form a new feature in the work, they are so chosen and treated that they are not mere additions to the text, but enter into and form part of the story as it proceeds. They are chosen with evident care and sound judgment, and convey their lesson clearly and effectively. The first volume, for instance, contains pictures not only of great national monuments, such as Stonehenge, the Roman wall, or cathedrals and castles in later days, but also of flint implements and vessels of household use; a page of Domesday, of the gospels and of law-books, with some very beautiful copies of illuminations; the operations of husbandry and plans of houses; so that there is hardly any aspect of social life which is not represented by picture. Each side of the life of the nation is thus dealt with in such a way that it would be quite possible to follow a single subject from the beginning to the end of the volumes, and anyone who did so would find himself very much helped by the pictures which form so important a feature of the history. It is doubtful where there is in existence another book which gives so clear and lifelike an account of the progress of the peoples who have lived in Britain from the earliest times until now.

ON THE PARISH RECORDS OF THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, BRISTOL.

By E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

Near the centre of the old town of Bristol, not far from where once the high cross stood, is the parish church of All Hallowen or All Saints. On the north side it is bounded by Corn Street; on the west by Venny Lane, now called All Saints' Lane; on the south and part of the east (chancel and south aisle) by another lane, but formerly by the cemetery; while against the tower, which adjoins the east end of the north aisle, is and was a house. In 1464 it is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts that two houses next the steeple were burnt[1] by a drunken point-maker.

Leland states that in the time of Henry II, Robert, Earl of Gloucester (a bastard son of Henry I), and Robert Hardinge translated the Fraternity of Kalendars from the church of the Holy Trinity (commonly called Christ Church) unto the church of All Hallowen. And after Hardinge had founded the monastery of St. Austin by Bristol, in 1148—a house of Victorine black canons—to it was appropriated the church of All Hallowen,[2] and with them and their successors, the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, the rectory has ever since remained. This appears to be the earliest notice of the church. When the tithes were granted to King Edward I for six years by Pope Nicholas IV, in 1290, towards the expenses of the Crusades, the portion of the Abbot of

[1] There has been some confusion between this fire and that which destroyed the Kalendar's Library in *Journal Brit. Arch. Soc.*, 1875; xxxj, 264.

[2] John Leland, *Itinerary*, Oxford, 1769; vij, 94.

St. Austin in this benefice[1] was assessed at £1 10*s.* 0*d.* and the tithe at 3*s.* 0*d.*

The present building has been repaired and rebuilt in the eighteenth century, and suffered from "restoration" in the nineteenth, with the consequence that the medieval tombstones mentioned by Barrett[2] have disappeared. As it now stands, the church consists of a nave and two aisles, and a chancel more or less modern. The nave has five bays, two Norman, three Gothic. Resting upon the Norman pillars at the west end of the nave, and so filling up the western ends of each aisle above, intrude two buildings; below, they only diminish the width of the aisles by about half. That on the north was the house of the Kalendars, while on the south was the vicar's manse, built by Sir Thomas Marshall, who died in 1434. Of the original buildings the doorway of the vicarage remains. At the east end of the north aisle is a square tower, which terminates in a cupola of eighteenth-century date; William Worcester[3] mentions this square tower for bells (*turrim quadratam pro campanis pulsantibus*), and gives the length of the church as 23 rods, and the width as 20 rods or 34 steps.

In the vestry of this church is preserved a large bound volume entitled on the back, "Minutes of All Saints' Parish In the Reign of Edward IIII." It is manuscript, written on paper 21 centimetres across and 29 centimetres high. The leaves have been paginated in a modern hand. The watermark is a cow's head eared and horned; between the horns arises a line crossed near its upper end by an X. The chief part of the book is written in a bold hand, clear and well-formed, which ceases after page 551, on which the accounts for the year March 27th, 8 Edward IV (1468), to March 26th, 9 Edward IV (1469), end. This handwriting has been

[1] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae*, Record Commission, 1802; p. 220.

[2] W. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789; pp. 442, 446.

[3] *Itineraria, Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, ed. J. Nasmith, Cantabrigiae, 1778; pp. 216, 227–8.

ascribed to Robert Ricart, town clerk of Bristol[1] in the second half of the fifteenth century; but on comparing it side by side with the Kalendar preserved at the Council House—a large portion of which has been written by Ricart, and which is known by his name—it became clear that there is a marked dissimilarity between the two hands. For instance, Ricart makes his small h's with one stroke of the pen, but the All Saints' writer uses two; Ricart's h is rounded, and approximates towards the modern German cursive h, but the All Saints' writer makes his with sharp angles. He also uses the jugum (ȝ) freely, which Ricart does not. On the other hand, on page 83 of the All Saints' MS itself, and in the above-mentioned hand, we read, in the list of Maurice Hardwick's benefactions, that "he laboured to compile and make this book, for to be a memorial and a remembrance for ever, for the Curates and the Church-wardens that shall be for the time, that every man to put in yearly his account for an evidence of the livelihood of the church; and for to put in names of the Good-doers, and the names of the wardens of the church, and what good they doeth in their days, that now they might yearly be prayed for." To which is added in a later hand, "And Sir John Thomas helped too, and wrote this Book." At first sight this reads as though Thomas had written the whole of the book in the original hand, while Hardwick had got together and arranged the materials.

Maurice Hardwick died in 1472 or 1473, and John Thomas did not become vicar until some years after.

But there are a good many additions to the contents of

[1] *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, Camden Society, 1872; p. iv. It has been a popular opinion amongst Bristol historians that Ricart was a member of the Fraternity of Kalendars, and many silly remarks have been made concerning "his monkish mind" and so forth. There does not appear to be the very least foundation for the notion, or for the kindred idea that he was in some way connected with All Saints. I have read every one of the numerous deeds preserved in that church, and his name never once occurs. The late Mr. Latimer told me that he had never been able to find any connection between All Saints and Ricart.

this volume which are in the same hand as the note about Sir John Thomas; so that it is most probable that Hardwick wrote the original hand, which ceases some two years or more before his death, while Thomas wrote a large portion of the additions.

There are 551 original leaves in the MS, but the first four have not been paginated; consequently the last page is only numbered 1094.

The binding is comparatively modern, about the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century.

The contents of this volume are, briefly, (1) some ordinances by the parish, (2) a list of benefactors and their gifts, (3) inventories of church goods, and (4) churchwardens' accounts.

The first regulation is a common one—against letting any of the books be taken out of the church. It is followed by an arrangement for providing the clerk's board and wages. The proctors or wardens were to appoint seven parishioners every year, going through the whole parish in turn, whose duty it was to provide the clerk's board. There was an assessment committee appointed for determining how much each parishioner had to pay towards the clerk's wages, composed of three persons, elected by the parish—"one of the worshipful, and two of the mean of the said parish." From its composition we may presume that the poorer parishioners were not unduly rated; and if any parishioner refused to pay he was compelled to abstain from Husel on the following Easter. If he were still contumacious, the abstinence from Husel was to be prolonged until the dues had been paid.

Then ensues a short set of rules for governing the clerk's behaviour and determining his duties. It is much shorter than the similar regulations drawn up by the vestry of the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas, or the Office of the Deacons of Coventry, or the Duties of the Clerks and Sexton of Faversham, and other similar documents.[1] In the first

[1] Dr. J. Wickham Legg has printed these in the Appendices to his edition of *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903), with many learned notes.

place, the clerk of All Saints, Bristol, had to be "true and profitable unto the church unto his power," in taking care of the vestments, books, jewels, and all other ornaments, in opening and shutting the church doors at the appointed times, and duly searching the church to see that no one was hiding therein with intent to obtain a night's lodging gratis or other even less desirable purpose. He might perform the latter duty by deputy if he could find one "of true and sad disposition." The usual injunction to obey the vicar in all things lawful follows. He was to be "lovingly attendant" on him both during divine service and in visiting the sick, and to give up all oblations to the vicar, as well as everything lost in the church, in order that inquiry might be made as to whom it belonged. The medieval clerks seem to have been under considerable suspicion of gossiping, and the rules that have come down to us sometimes make special point of their not making mischief between the vicar and his parishioners. We find this in the Faversham rules and those of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, and we find it here at All Saints, where the clerk was forbidden to bear "tales between the vicar and his brethren, nor between him and his parishioners, nor between neighbour and neighbour whereby any occasion of strife or debate" should arise. Further, he had to see that the church was kept clean, both in its "roofs, windows, pillars, walls, and the ground, stalls, seges, and specially the altars."

In the year 1488 (probably the spring of 1488-9), Sir John Thomas being vicar, and Richard Stevyns and Thomas Pernant being churchwardens, the parishioners found it needful to ordain that anyone who failed to turn up on the day announced by the vicar on the preceding Sunday for the audit of accounts, after the great bell had been tolled thrice, should be fined. If he belonged to the parish council, the fine was one pound of wax, if not, six pounds, unless the culprit had some reasonable excuse to offer. At the same time, apparently, there was some difficulty experienced in getting men to serve as churchwardens; for it was enacted

that whosoever was "chosen proctor by the most voice of the parishioners, if he refuse it that is so chosen, shall pay unto this said church of All Hallowen, to be put into the Treasure Coffer in money, without pardon or release of the whole or of part, 6*s.* 8*d.*" And should he be chosen again in after years the same penalty was to be enforced as often as he refused, "unless his excuse by the parish may be found the more reasonable." And if any man refused to be "proctor of J̄hc," *i.e.* warden of the service or gild of Jesus, he had to pay to the treasury thereof 3*s.* 4*d.*

At the same time it was determined that "the advice and consent of the Substance of the parishioners" should be obtained before the churchwardens let any house belonging to the church for a term of years, or abated any rent from any house, under a penalty of £20. Another abuse that had grown up towards the end of the fifteenth century was the increasing expense of the General Mind for the good doers to the church. In the earlier part of the century it varied considerably. Thus in 1408 it was 4*s.* 10½*d.*, in 1428 it was 2*s.* 6*d.*, in 1429 3*s.* 10*d.*, in 1433 only 2*s.*, while in 1437 it was as low as 9*d.* In 1450 it was 2*s.* 4*d.*, but in 1473 as much as 11*s.* 10*d.* was spent, which five years later was increased to 13*s.* 3*d.*, and went on increasing still further until the parishioners at last objected. And here it may be mentioned that this was not a Protestant disapprobation of the affair, for the increased expenses were caused by extras for the dinner in connection with the General Mind, and not with the ecclesiastical part of it. Let us first see what the parish settled: "Henceforward the costs of the General Mind exceed not the sum of 13*s.* 4*d.*, and if they do the residue that cometh over shall be at the charge of the elder proctor in office, and not at the charge of the church." The costs of the General Mind in the year in which this economical resolution was passed (*i.e.* Christmas, 1487, to Christmas, 1488) were 20*s.* 7*d.*, made up as follows: *In primis*, 2 bushells of flower, 2*s.* 6*d.*; 1¼ oz. of saffron, 14*d.*; cloves and maces, 2*d.*; balm, 1*d.*; for bread to poor people, 6*d.*: for baking of the

cakes, 8*d.*; for a potell of wine to the cakes, 5*d.*; for a lb. sugar to the cakes, 4*d.*; for oil to the cakes, 2*d.*; for 2 dozen ale, 3*s.*; for spices to the same ale, 6d.; for 2 gallons Roscolye, 16*d.*; for a quart claret wine to the mayor, 2*d.*; for a gallon Roscolye, 8*d.*; for 4 gallons and 1*d.* pot of osey, 3*s.* 5*d.*; for 4 gallons of claret wine, 2*s.* 8*d.*; to the vicar for his Dirge, 4*d.*; to 5 priests for their Dirge, 15*d.*; to the clerk for his Dirge and bells, 14*d.*; for offering at the mass, 1*d.* Next year the effect of the above rule is seen in the reduction of the expenses to 13*s.* 9*d.* As Richard Stevyns and Thomas Pernaunt were the wardens who presented the accounts for the year, Christmas, 1488, to Christmas, 1489, the rule would seem to have been passed shortly before Lent of 1488–9. The following year the General Mind cost 13*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1491 they only spent 11*s.* 7*d.*

Another matter in connection with the same was altered on the same occasion. Previously the General Mind had been held on Ash Wednesday, but in future it was determined to keep it on the Thursday following, when the Dirge was sung, and the mass, as usual, on the morrow, on Friday.

Further economy was effected by abolishing the *Corpus Christi* Dinner and substituting a payment in cash to the priests and clerks taking part in the procession.

From page 7 to page 67 there are only headings to the blank leaves. Space is provided for "the names of the Conducts that hath books, vestments, and Chalices of the said Church." Conducts, *sacerdotes conducti*, were priests hired by the year[1] to sing masses for souls. Then follows space for the "Debtors that oweth good to the said Church," and for the names of those who held the "Keys of the Treasury." To this succeeds the list of the "Names of Good Doers" or benefactors, with their benefactions, given "to the church of All Hallowen in Bristol, unto the honour and worship of Almighty God, and increasing of Divine Service, to be showed

[1] Gul. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III; Tit. *De celebratione missarum*: Cap. *Sacerdotes caueant*: Verb. *Pro defuncto*: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxv *verso*.

and declared unto the parishioners on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, at High Mass, and yearly to be continued, as followeth:—Whereas it hath been of a laudable custom, and of long continuance used, that on this day—that is to say, the Sunday before Ash Wednesday—the names of good-doers and wellwillers by whom livelihood, tenements, buildings, jewels, books, chalices, vestments, with divers other ornaments and goods as followeth, hath been given unto this church, unto the honour and worship of Almighty God, and increasing of Divine service, to be rehearsed and showed yearly unto you by name, both man and woman, and what benefits they did for themselves and for their friends and for others by their lifetimes, and what they left for them to be done after their days; that they shall not be forgotten, but be had in remembrance and be prayed for of all this parish that be now, and of all them that be to come; and also for an example to all you that be now living, that ye may likewise do for yourself and for your friends while ye be in this world, that after this transitory life ye may be had in the number of good-doers rehearsed by name, and in special prayers of Christian people in time coming, that by the infinite mercy of Almighty God, by the intercession of our blessed Lady and of all blessed saints of heaven, in whose honour and worship this church is dedicate, ye may come to the everlasting bliss and joy that our blessed Lord hath redeemed you unto. Amen."

Pages 69 to 74 are taken up with the names of those who have given "livelihood and tenements" to the church. In many cases the original deeds from which the catalogue was compiled are still in existence, either in All Saints or elsewhere. In other cases they have vanished, or at least, I have not been able to find them. Such deeds as remain, however, show that the compiler, who endorsed all the deeds which he entered in this book, noted the use to which the benefaction was put in the fifteenth century instead of that for which it was originally designated. For instance, John de Yate, draper, bequeathed some land to the service of

St. Mary of All Saints,[1] which was leased in 1286 or 1290 to one John Kyft, who had to pay 8*s.* silver to the Fraternity of Kalendars, 12*d.* to the support of a lamp burning before the altar of St. Margaret in All Saints' Church (the only mention of an altar therein with that dedication), and 3*s.* to the service of St. Mary. The compiler, Sir Maurice Hardwick, or whoever he may have been, sets it down as "to find 5 tapers before our Lady Altar," to which information a later compiler adds "at Jesus anthem." Therefore the statement of the compiler that Martin Draper gave 12*d.* out of a house in Lewin's Mead to find a lamp before the altar of the Holy Rood cannot be taken as evidence that there was an altar with that dedication about the middle of the thirteenth century, when Martin Draper lived. But on this see below.

One quaint remark in this part of the volume deserves notice. No rent had been paid for a house in Marsh Street belonging to the church since the second year of Edward IV by the tenant, John Shipward the elder. "God amend him!" adds the compiler. In 1484, however, his son delivered them their old possession again. Another matter of interest is a mistake which shows that the handwriting of 150 years before was not easily read by the men of 1450. It is recorded on page 74 that Harry Muellard gave a house in Wynch Street (now Wine Street) to Sir William Mooche, vicar of the church. But the original deed is preserved at All Saints, endorsed in the same hand as the entry in the book of records, "yn Wynchestrete, xij*d.*" On inspecting this it became obvious that Hardwick, or whoever wrote the record, mistook the old-fashioned S for an M, and the names really are Henry *Snellard* and William *Scoche*. The mistake is the more curious in that four words ahead the S of *Sanctorum* is formed in the same manner, and should have given the clue. The grant mentions the name of a rector of the church of St. Lawrence, Bristol, now destroyed, one William Mannig. The date of the MS is either 1290, 1286, or 1285. The last gift recorded

[1] This document is printed at length in *Archaeological Journal*, 1901 lviij, 167.

is that of a tenement in High Street, called "the Roze" (according to the sixteenth century endorsement of Agnes Fylour's will), given by (Thomas and) Agnes Fylour in 1467, on condition that the vicar and churchwardens of All Saints kept her obit year on 20th November, "after the tenor of her testament." The vicar on that occasion received in all 2*s*., half "for his wax at Dirge and mass brennyng," half for overseeing the obit, and *ut habeat me recommendatam dominicatim inter alios dicte ecclesie benefactores*, as it is expressed in her will, which is preserved at All Saints.

The next section of the book is occupied with the "names of Vicars and priests that hath been good-doers unto the said church." The names are not all in strict chronological order, as the earliest comes second. Sir William Selk bequeathed in 1270 a number of interesting objects to the church. His will is now in the possession of Mr. Francis F. Fox, and has been printed in facsimile in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* for 1890–1 (plate xxxv, opposite page 314). The gifts comprised a mass-book, *de usu Sarum*[1]; a grail, well bound, having a processioner and ordinal, a troper for the whole year, together with one for our Lady's masses, and many other very useful matters, all in one volume; and another grail unbound, having a processioner and ordinal, and troper for the whole year, in one volume; a volume of Constitutions and Penitentiary, a good psalter, and a manual, with a hymner and other useful matters. Besides these books there was a number of other things of varying value, chief of which were a little brass candlestick that formerly belonged to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and some powder of that saint's headpan. The entry of these is duly struck out in later ink, no doubt in obedience to Henry VIII's orders. Mentioned in the will, but not in the book of records, are several minor gifts, such as "a painted wooden cup for the Eucharist," and

[1] The use of Sarum was observed at the chapel of the Holy Spirit in Redcliffe Churchyard in 1254 (Hist MSS Commission, *Report on Wells Cathedral MSS, Appx.*, 1885; vol. 10, pt. iij, p. 173). The Rectory of Bedminster and Redcliff formed the endowment of a Prebend at Salisbury Cathedral, so that Sarum influence would have been strong in Redcliff.

"a large chest to keep the *Corpus Christi* and the vestments in." The custom of hanging the pix over the high altar had evidently not been introduced at this date into All Saints. Other gifts were an unpainted wooden eagle, two processional crosses and their staves, his censer, his processional *Dragon* (banner for Rogations), a painted tray or salver for holy bread, three pair of corporasses and their cases, two surplices and two rochets. Selk also gave 2*s*. rent assize out of some land in Skate-pulle, afterwards Marsh Street, to sustain a lamp,[1] burning in All Saints by night, for the souls of John Selk his father and Isabel his mother, as well as his predecessors and successors at All Saints.

Sir Walter Isgar, vicar of All Saints, died December 1st, 1321. He gave half a breviary and an ordinal, and obtained the confirmation of all the indulgences pertaining to the house of the Kalendars.

Sir Thomas Marshall[2] died June[3] 7th, 1434. According to Barrett, there was in the eighteenth century (?), in the middle aisle of the church a stone with this inscription: "*Hic iacet Thomas Marshall, vir bonae memoriae, quondam vicarius huius ecclesiae, qui obiit 17 die Junii A.D. 1434 cuius animae propitietur Deus, Amen.*" The stone is gone now, as the church has been "thoroughly restored," so that one cannot verify the date. There was once a document concerning the foundation of the vicarage and his obit in the church, but that too is gone. Marshall's "good deeds" comprise the gift of a large mass-book, an antiphoner and psalter, a processioner and two pair of vestments. He also paid for

[1] "Ad Lampadem per noctem in eadem ecclesia ardentem." MS. deeds 24, 79, 160, 168, at Bristol Museum Library. In the early part of the nineteenth century all these deeds were at All Saints.

[2] A deed entitled *Fundatio Mansi Vicarii Omnium Sanctorum* is in the registers of the cathedral church of Worcester (Morgan, vol. i., fol. 70), according to William Barrett, *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789; p. 438. The obit was to be kept January 7th. The list of medieval tombstones is on p. 446.

[3] On p. 78 of the MS the date is given as "Anno domini M° CCCC^mo. xxxiiij° vij die Junij"; Barrett, however, stated that on his grave the date was June 17th.

the glazing of two windows in the south or Rood Aisle, one depicting the seven corporal works of mercy, and the other the seven sacraments. Moreover he put in a gable window in the quire "for ease of light, on the south side thereof, over the presbytery" or *sedilia*. Finally he built a vicarage, about 1422 A.D., for himself and his successors to dwell in.

Sir Richard Parkhouse, another vicar, gave a pair of light green cloth of gold vestments and two torches to the church in 1436.

After the good deeds of Sir William Rodberd in 1453—of which the most important was £6 13*s*. 4*d*. for the ceiling of the back of the church—and a small gift from Sir Harry Colas, fellow of the Kalendars, come the benefactions of Sir John Gyllarde, prior of that fraternity, who died June 28th, 1451. His own individual gifts were a paxbred, a processioner and four seats in the Rood Aisle. But in conjunction with one Richard Haddon he "let make" a tabernacle of gold and silver to set on the high altar on high festivals, with a figure of "Saint Saviour" and two figures of John Haddon and Christiana his wife, with angels, which was valued at £20. They also "let made of their own free-will" the chapel of our Lady on the north side of the church, commonly called Jesus Aisle, and "worshipfully glazed it with the story of *Te Deum laudamus*," on behalf of the souls of the said John Haddon and Christian his wife, who had bequeathed twenty marks for the repair of the chapel; but the aforesaid Gyllarde and Haddon "built of the new out of the ground the said chapel," at the cost of £227. They also lent £100 to the vicar and parish to rebuild a house in High Street belonging to the church, called "the Green Lattice." Over the new aisle they built a room for the Kalendars' Library,[1] which was open to the public on festivals in 1464, when the prior was at hand to explain obscure and doubtful

[1] Dr. John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, gave these rules in 1464 (W. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789; pp. 453-4). Barrett says "at two hours before nine and for two hours after." Should it not have been "two hours before and after *None*"? that is, from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.

passages to all who asked him, to the best of his ability; and every week he was required to read a public lecture in the same library.

The chauntry founded at the Lady Altar by John and Christian Haddon came to an untimely end, as one John Hawkys embezzled the deeds, and so "the chauntry is destroyed. God amend him!"

Sir Maurice Hardwick's greatest benefaction, to posterity, if not to his contemporaries, was undoubtedly the volume which is under consideration, and which we have discussed above. He seems to have been fairly wealthy, judging by the numbers of gifts and the period over which their donation extends. Besides a number of vestments and hangings, he gave an image of St. Ursula, made of wood, "to excite people to devotion," and gilded "the image of All Hallowen in burnished gold" and the "Crucifix with the Sun." His orderly instincts, which appeared in the compilation of this book of records, were further seen in his gift of a coffer, with a lock and key, to hold the church deeds, "where before they lay abroad, likely to be embezzled and myschesed." Hardwick also "procured, moved, and stirred" Agnes Fylour to give "her said house, in the which she dwelt in, in the High Street in the south side of the Green Lattice"; at her death however, her son Thomas wished to break the will and aliene the house to his own use, even going so far as to promise "the said Sir Maurice great good to assist him." But Hardwick was not to be bribed, and with the churchwardens "by plea withstood him."

Hardwick added four quires of vellum to the antiphoner lying before the vicar, and had all the chapters and collects for the year—temporale, sanctorale, and common—written thereon, and at the end of the said quires the benisons throughout the year.

Chained to a pillar on the south side of the church, within the enterclose before the Rood Altar, was a porthors or breviary given by Sir William Warens, some time priest of Halleway's Chauntry, "to the ease of all manner priests

to say their service when they have not their own books with them."

Another benefactor in a small way was Sir Thomas Haxby, a brother of the Kalendars, who died in 1484. At one time he held the office of parish clerk, and the following excellent testimonial is recorded of him: "He was a well-willed man in all his days, and a profitable unto this church, and specially when he was common servant in this parish, that is to say parish clerk; and that 28 years together no clerk in this town [was] like unto him in cleanness and in attending in those days: and as profitable he was unto the Kalendars."

Master John Herlowe,[1] sometime prior of the Kalendars, and parson of St. Stephen's, Bristol, gave seventy-five "flowers of gold" that cost 53*s.* 4*d.* for the lighting and garnishing of the high altar of All Saints' Church, as well as a book for the organ for use at matins and evensong.

The ceiling of the roof of the quire was paid for "of his own goods" by Sir John Thomas during his vicariate, though properly that should have been done by the rectors, the abbot and convent of St. Austin.

After forty-six blank pages comes another section devoted to lay benefactors, headed: "These be the names of all the good-doers and benefactors unto the said church, viz. parishioners *et de aliis parochibus*." In the forefront of these comes a magnificent gift from one Roger the Gurdeler of a pix to hold the reserved Eucharist at the high altar and to carry the Husel to the sick. The original deed is still at All Saints, beautifully written on parchment, and dated December 24th, 1303. It is endorsed in the same hand as the entry in the book of records.[2] The full text may be seen in *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 170 *sq.* It is described as "a Coope of

[1] Herlowe died on December 6th, 1486. He was rector of St. Stephen's in 1473, but I do not know that he held the two benefices concurrently (Wadley's *Notes*, 160).

[2] In the endorsement of the original deed these two vessels are called "the Cowpe and the Cuppe." *Coupe*, O. Fr. *Coupe*, means a large bowl, originally a *tub* or *barrel*.

silver, gilt within and without, with a cover and a crucifix on the head, with precious stones worshipfully endued" ("*unam Cuppam, cum Coopertorio, de argento deauratam infra et extra, cum una Cruce et ymagine argenteis similiter deauratis supra existentibus, cum longo pede, lapidibus ornato, similiter deaurato, ponderis sexaginta et septem solidorum argenti,*") "and a little cuppe . . . ygilt" ("*et infra sanctem Cuppam quoddam vas argenteum, ad modum Cyphi fabricatum, ponderis duorum solidorum et sex denariorum argenti*"). At some later period a spoon was added, but there is nothing about it in the original grant. And for the better ward of the same a solemn curse was appended against any and all who aliened, sold, or broke the said Coope and Cuppe, pronounced *pulsatis campanis et candelis accensis*, by the then vicar, Sir William Scoche.

The goldsmiths of Bristol, who lived in the High Street, gave a tabernacle in the middle of the high altar of silver-gilt, adorned with precious stones, containing a representation of the Coronation of our Lady, "with a ruby imperial over the head," valued at £20. This stone is described as a sapphire in the Latin inventory of 1395.

Dr. John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1444–76), in which diocese Bristol then was, granted forty days' indulgence on every principal feast when a chalice and paten presented by one Julian Papnam (Papenham?) was "sung with."

A gift on which a great many historians of Bristol have exercised their imaginative faculties is the following. William Wytteney, who appears to have been a cordwainer and to have died about 1448, made a painting on canvas (or some other such stuff) of the Dance of Pauls, at a cost of £43, "that every man should remember his own death." A similar adornment belonged to the church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford,[1] in 1529, when there were "three long cloths hanging before the Roodloft, stained or painted, with the Dawnce of Powlis." There are payments annually

[1] J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; ij. 20.

at All Saints for unrolling it, hanging it up, and rolling it up again. It was hung on a "battlement" before the south door in the church (accounts for 18 Edward IV).

Imagination has run riot in guessing what the Dance of Pauls could be. One writer[1] read it "Dance of Souls"; another, in correction, rightly reads Dance of "Powlys," but explains the word as "polls" or heads, and is sure it means a puppet dance.[2] There can be no question, however, that it really was a painting of the Dance of Death, copied from, or after the style of, that in St. Paul's Churchyard. "There was also," says Stow,[3] "one great Cloyster on the north side of" St. Paul's Cathedral Church, "of old time called *Pardon Churchyard*. . . . About this Cloyster was artificially and richly painted the Dance of *Machabray*, or Dance of Death, commonly called the *Dance of Pauls*."

William Wytteney also gave a Primer[4] to the church, "which stood in the grate under Saint Christopher's foot. And the said book was stolen, and found at St. James' in Calais, and brought home and newly y-grated. And since [is] y-stolen again." So that even in that blessed period, when everybody was holy, &c., there were persons capable of stealing a Prayer-book out of a church.

The name of Thomas Halleway was associated with the church for a long time. He was several times churchwarden, and was "most well-willed to all good works of the church, to oversee the reparations of the church, four times a year coming in his coat [as] mayor, and after he was mayor." He founded a chauntry[5] at the altar of SS. John Baptist, John

[1] H. Rogers, *The Calendars of All Hallowen, Brystowe*, Bristol, 1846; p. 193.

[2] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1875; xxxj 264.

[3] John Stow, *The Survey of London*, London, 1633; p. 354.

[4] Mr. Rogers has written quite a pleasing novelette on the adventures of this Primer in his book on the Kalendars, pp. 193 *sq*. He reads "Seynt Jamys yn Galeys" into St. James at Compostella. But I cannot think that he is right in so doing.

[5] I have given some account of this chauntry, with as many of the original documents as could be found, in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xxiv, pp. 74 *sq*.

the Evangelist, and Dunstan, and made the seats or pews before that altar at a cost of £3. Besides his gifts to the chauntry he endowed the light before the Eucharist in the quire with 8*s.* a year, and gave to the church "a worshipful jewel with two angels, and two stones of crystal, called a monstrant, to bear the precious sacrament, with divers relics closed in the same," of gold and silver, which weighed 57¼ oz. One notice of it says that it was "to bear the blessed Sacrament in on Corpus Christi Day."

The next benefactions of importance were given by one Harry Chestyr and Alson his wife, ancestors of several well-known families of the present day. He died in 1471 and his wife in 1486. The entry tells us that "in the worship of Jesus, to the foundation of a mass of Jesus by note to be kept and continued every Friday in this church, likewise an anthem, the said Harry and Alice have given to this church a tenement in Broad Street, where that sometime William Rowe, brewer, dwelt in; to this intent, that they be prayed for every Friday at the mass by name, and also an obit to be kept for them yearly for ever on every St. Valentine's Day, on the which day the said Harry deceased, the year of our Lord $14\frac{70}{71}$." At some time the thirteenth-century bequest of John de Yate towards a lamp at St. Margaret's Altar, and to the service of St. Mary, was diverted "to find 5 tapers before our Lady Altar at Jesus Anthem." At the end of the fifteenth century Dame Maud Spicer "provided 3 tapers of wax before the image of Jesus, then to burn at Jesus Mass on the Friday and at the anthem at night."

Jesus Mass was, as I have elsewhere shown, the Sarum Mass *de nomine Jesu:* and the anthem an imitation of the famous *Salve Regina*, which is found in some Primers of the sixteenth century.[1]

In the book of records the accounts of the Fraternity of Jesus are entered for 1490 and 1491, but there is little of interest in them. In 1500 the churchwardens' accounts show

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. v, pt. iij, pp. 163 *sq.*

that the singers of Jesus Mass received 20s. for the half-year, and in 1539 there are payments to the clerk, sexton, and the vicar for the same service. Mention is made of the Jesus Light in 1538.

Let us continue the account of benefactions. Alice Chester enriched the church with much carving and valuable presents of hangings, ornaments, &c., amongst which may be named the great latten bason to wash relics in on Relic Sunday, a cross of silver-gilt enamelled with Mary and John, and a horse-cloth. And "being in good prosperity and health of body [in 1483], considering the roodloft of this church was but single, and nothing beauty according to the parish intent, she, taking to her counsel the worshipful of the parish, with others having best understanding and sights in carving, to the honour and worship of Almighty God and his saints, and of her special devotion unto this church, hath let to be made a new roodloft in carved work, fulfilled with 22 images, on her own proper cost; of the which images be 3 principal, a Trinity in the middle, a Christopher in the north side, and a Michael in the south side: and besides this, the 2 pillars bearing up the loft, every one having 4 houses set on in carved work, and within every house an image."

Costly too were the gifts of John Leynell and his wife Katherin, who seems to have been a draper[1] in High Street. Amongst other ornaments must be named the "great pair of latten candlesticks, called Standards, for the quire, where afore we had but two, and now we have four: and also where we were wont to borrow in time of necessity, and now, blessed be God and them, we have no need as for such stuff; the which candlesticks weigh 94 lbs., and cost 4 marks."

And as the second best suit of vestments was of bawdkin and nothing like so fine as the best, Katharin Leynell gave the church a finer suit of blue velvet, adorned with flowers and branches of gold, and orphreys of red velvet with golden eagles thereon. Her dirge was kept for the whole month,

[1] T. P. Wadley, *Notes . . . of the Wills . . . at Bristol*, for Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc., 1886; p. 159.

"and that by note, as other worshipful folk hath used before times, and likewise since her departing." Her husband died in 1474.

Clement Wylschyr,[1] Mayor of Bristol, was three times churchwarden of All Saints, and died in January, 1492–3, in his year of office as Mayor. He desired to be buried in the Lady Chapel, or if there were no convenient place there, in any other place at the discretion of the parish and his executors. Actually he was buried before the altar of SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan. His wife Joan also was numbered among the good doers.

Among the gifts of John Jenkyns, otherwise Steyner, innholder, to the church, was "a standing Note with a cover well gilt, with a black shell, weighing 37 oz., which the donor desired should never be alienated nor sold,[2] but to remain in the treasure coffer to the behoof and pleasure of the parishioners in the day of the General Mind of Good-Doers."

Dame Maude Spicer, otherwise Baker, was a "singular benefactress" to the church, both in plate and vestments. Amongst other things, "she gave an eagle of latten for the Gospel to be read upon," and "two latten candlesticks to stand continually upon Saint Thomas' Altar."

Such are the chief items in the record of benefactions.

[1] His will, abstracted by Mr. Wadley in his *Notes on . . . the Wills . . . at Bristol*, Bristol, 1886: p. 167, is dated June 30th, 1488, and proved January 7th, 1492–3. See also *The Maire of Bristow ys Kalendar*, Camden Society, 1872; p. 48.

[2] In *The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills* at the Council House, Bristol, are the following references to "Notes":—Fol. 12 *verso:* Lego Matilde Couele i *Note* apparatum cum argento; Walter Tedistille, 1385. Fol. 25 *verso:* Unum Cphum meum vocatum *Note*; Simon Haleway, 1389. Fol. 47: i Ciphum nuncupatum *le Note*; Walter Frompton, 1395. Fol. 133: unum Ciphum cum argento ligatum vocatum *Note*; Robert Lodelow, 1418 Fol. 240 *verso:* unum *Noote* harnisatum cum argento et deauratum; Edward Kyte, 1487. Fol. 241: unum *Note* cum cooperculo; Agnes Kyte, 1487. Fol. 243 *verso:* unum *Note*, harnisatum argento cum cooperculo argenti et deaurato; Edmund Newe, 1491. Fol. 254: *The Nutte*; Thomas Elyot, 1505. J. O. Halliwell (*Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*) defines *Nut* as a kind of small urn, and refers to *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 365, for an example.

After this list comes a second list of the same, but often with more information, and frequently with less. Then follows a memorandum that the Lord Abbot of St. Austin repaired the roof of the chancel about All-Hallow-tide, 10 Hen. VIII.

The next matter is an English inventory, dated March 5th, 1395-6, followed by another dated March 1st, 1469. Both are (mainly) in the same handwriting, the original hand of the book. The earlier inventory is not very long, and the Latin original, which still exists, as a pair of indentures,[1] is not always followed in the later English version.

In 1395 there were but two mass-books—one bound in red, evidently that given by William Selk in 1270 *de usu Sarum;* and a second unbound, described as old. Of grails there were four—one bound with bosses, another in white, and a third old; the two given by Selk in 1270 may be among those. Besides these, there was a "little grail to serve our Lady mass," and another little one, "abridged." For the occasional services there was a manual, perhaps that one which Selk bequeathed; and a martiloge, or martyrology. For divine service there were two porthoses or breviaries, and two half-porthoses—one with, the other without a psalter (according to the Latin version; the English has both *with*), of which the old one was probably given by Walter Isgar, vicar of All Saints, in 1321; two antiphoners, both old; an ordinal or pie, probably that given by Isgar; four psalters, one given by a Thomas Norton, which the prior of the Kalendars had in keeping; a legend for the temporale, and another for the sanctorale; and, in the English version, a processional. A later hand adds also two antiphoners.

We next come to the vestments, which are very few for a church in so wealthy a town as Bristol. But the living of All Saints was a poor one, and in 1363 William de Lench, the then vicar, petitioned the pope for a license to hold a

[1] It is printed in full in *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 173 *sq.* In every case I have expanded p'c' by error into *price* instead of *precio*.

benefice in the Bishop of Lichfield's gift as well as that of All Saints, which was only worth five marks,[1] or for a similar one in the gift of the Bishop of Hereford.

There were but two *complete* suits—the best, of green and blue ciclatouns, with orphreys of ray velvet; another of blue ciclatouns and plunket.

TABLE OF VESTMENTS AT ALL SAINTS IN 1395.

SUITS.	SINGLE VESTMENTS.	COPES.
1. Green and blue ciclatouns, with orphreys of ray velvet (cope, chasuble, 2 tunicles).	1. A *chasuble*, undescribed.	1. One of blue, striped
2. Blue ciclatouns and plunket (cope, chasuble, 2 tunicles).	2. (English version only.)	2. One of ciclatouns with birds.
3. Cloth of gold (chasuble, 2 tunicles, 3 albs, 3 amices, 3 fanons).	3. A white *vestment*.	3. One, old, of cloth of gold, with two tunicles of old cloth of gold.
	4. *Chasuble* of cloth of gold with birds in circles.	4. Two copes and two albs for boys.
	5. *Vestment* of red cloth of gold with griffins.	
	6. A red *vestment*.	
	7. A red ray satin *vestment*.	
	8. A black *vestment*.	
	9. A red satin *chasuble* with gold cocks.	
	10. A yellow *chasuble* with a blue stripe.	
	11. A silk *chasuble* of black and white diaper.	

It will be noticed that some of the single vestments in the above table are described as "vestment" and others as "chasuble" in the inventory, whether in the English or Latin version. The former term seems to include alb, amice, stole, and fanon, with the chasuble, as in Edward's first prayer book. It can hardly be meant for a whole suit, considering the small values of the different items.

[1] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, Petitions*, Rolls Series, 1896; vol. i, p. 429

The proportion of colours is very curious also, red predominating. In no case is the occasion for the use of the colour indicated, the only attempt in that direction being the term "best" applied to one of the suits, suggesting, of course, that it was used on the highest festivals.

The altar hangings comprise but one over-front, with the Coronation of our Lady painted on it, and a nether front, "with the figure of the Trinity"; two riddells with angels painted on them, held up by iron rods at the altar's ends. No other front is mentioned; but there were four white cloths, with red crosses, of buckram, perhaps the same as the "three Lent Clothes for the altars," of the English version. There were seven (twelve in the English) towels or linen altar cloths, of which two had frontlets attached, to lay upon the altars.

The Lent veil hanging in the quire before the altar was of white and blue, paly (Latin version).

There was a veil of black velvet with a red fringe, which served as a pix-veil, according to the English version.

For images there were several mantles: two of red satin (with four gilt buttons) for the statue of our Lady and her Child in the chapel, and two more for a similar statue "in the pillar," as well as one of chequer velvet for the latter Child. There was also a red satin mantle for St. Anne's image "in the pillar."

The plate was more numerous and valuable. At the head of the list comes Roger le Gurdeler's Cowpe and Cuppe of silver-gilt, a silver oilvat, and the silver-gilt tabernacle of the Coronation of our Lady given by the goldsmiths. There were five chalices, besides one belonging to the Fraternity of the Carpenters[1]; two silver crewets, an ivory pix bound with silver, a censer and two ships (for incense) of latten, and a crop of silver-gilt. The candlesticks were of little value, only pewter or wooden, except an old iron one.

[1] I cannot find any further information about this gild and its connection with All Saints.

The inventory of 1469 is incomplete; it is divided up into sections, many of which have only the headings. It opens with a miscellaneous list of ornaments, often of considerable interest—lich bells, wooden candlesticks, a chequer for the holy loaf, and then "Clappers all Judas bells." The accounts for 1413-14 record the payment of 2*d.* for mending these. At Wells Cathedral Church[1] they paid 4*d.* for mending the "Judas bell" in 1414-15. At St. Margaret's, Westminster,[2] they paid 10*d.* in 1486 "for making a new clapper to Judas bell," and at St. Nicholas, Bristol,[3] is the following item:—"1555, *Paid* ffor a clap*er* [for good fryday *in another hand*], viij*d.*" In the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie*, written during the first half of the sixteenth century,[4] "to jingle Judas bells" is spoken of. Judas bells seem to have been rattles or clappers of wood, used during the last three days of Passion Week, before Easter Day, instead of the ordinary bells. Mr. Tyack[5] mentions some existing examples of wooden bells. The next item is "a Judas for the candles the three nights before Easter," for use at tenebræ, the anticipated matins of the Thursday, Friday and Saturday. For the Easter Sepulchre, beside the thing itself, were five gilt "battlements," two gilt crucifixes for the ends, and four bolts of iron with two red "battlements."

There was "a crown with four angels of tree painted," which is presumably the same as *unum Castellum cum iiij angelis pro cruce* of the additions[6] to the Latin version of the 1395 inventory; a "reredos to set Jewels on at the high

[1] Historical MSS Commission, *Report on the MSS of Wells Cathedral*, 1885; p. 277.

[2] Quoted *Notes and Queries*, 1850; vol. i, series i, p. 195.

[3] Churchwardens' Accounts, in the custody of the vicar of St. Nicholas Parish Church, Bristol.

[4] *Notes and Queries*, 1850; i, i, 235.

[5] G. S. Tyack, *A Book about Bells*, London, 1893; pp. 25, 177. Clappers are used instead of bells in all Catholic countries on the last three days before Easter, both in churches and in houses, from the *Gloria in excelsis* of Maundy Thursday to the same on Easter Even.

[6] *Archaeological Journal*, lviij, 178, note 4.

altar," which definitely shows the object of that ornament; three chairs for the quire; a little stool and desk for the organs; desks for the high Altar, Lady Altar, St. Thomas's Altar, and the singers at our Lady Altar. The high altar front was hung from an iron bar, and the curtains there were on rods terminating in fleurs-de-lys. There were iron rods for curtains at each of the low altars as well. The rods are called "iron riddells," a rather unusual use of the term, which usually signifies the curtains, and not the rods wherefrom they depended.

For the pascall there was a bowl of tree (wood) and from the accounts we further find that it was hung by a cord over a pulley; before (? with) the bowl they used a large wheel of wood for the purpose of holding this candle. The Judas or tree (*i.e.* the wooden core to stiffen it) weighed 28¾ lbs. in 1479. In 1445 they made four pensels or small banners of paper to adorn the pascall; and in 1523 four spears with bells for the same purpose.

The "inventory of coffers and aumbries for Conducts," or stipendiary priests, has not been filled in. It is followed by one "of Lent cloths." They are either "stained," *i.e.* painted, with some mournful picture,[1] such as "our Lady of Pity," "the signs of the Passion," a crucifix, or are of blue and white. But two were of ray silk, one of black silk, another stained with dolphins, and the last a Vernacle wrought on silk.

The "inventory of Altar cloths" contains the description of twelve of varying dimensions. Three were of diaper, the longest 5⅜ yds. long and just over a yard broad, the shortest 3½ yds. by ¾ yd., with crosses worked upon it. Of twill there were four, varying from 4½ yds. by 1⅞ yds. to 2⅝ yds. by 1⅛ yds. The rest were of plain linen, *i.e.* without diapering, varying from 4½ yds. by 1 yd. to 2½ yds. by 1 yd.

[1] "The clothes that are hanged up this time of Lent in the church have painted in them nothing else but the pains, torments, passion, blood-shedding and death of Christ, that now we should only have our minds fixed on the Passion of Christ, by whom only we were redeemed" (Thomas Becon, *Early Works*, Parker Society, 1843; p. 111).

One of these had crosses worked upon it. Besides these, there was a covering of canvas for the high altar (3⅜ yds. by 1 yd.) and another for the Lady Altar (3⅜ yds. by 1 yd.) to protect the linen cloths left on the altars out of mass time.

Besides these, there were three "towels" or great linen cloths, either to lay uppermost on the altar at mass time, or perhaps for huselling cloths. That of diaper measured 9⅝ yds. by ½ yd., the twill cloth 3¾ yds. by ⅜ yd., and a plain one 8⅜ yds. by ½ yd. The "inventory of Bankers and coverlets for the high altar" was never filled in.

The "inventory of Candlesticks and Bowls of latten and pewter" does not contain any very valuable items. There were two great candlesticks of latten, besides the two great standards given by the Leynells, two others "for the high altar," two more for processions, and two iron ones standing at the Cross Altar. In the roodloft were thirteen bowls for the rood-lights. The list includes two ships of latten (for incense), and a bell of the same metal "for the high altar."

This bell for the high altar is that known as the "sacring" or "saunts" bell. During the thirteenth century the practice of ringing a bell before the elevation or sacring became increasingly common all over Western Christendom. In 1228 William, Bishop of Paris,[1] ordered one to be rung "at the elevation or a little before" to stir the faithful to prayer; Alexander, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,[2] in 1237, to announce the advent of the Saviour; and William de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester,[3] in 1240, to stir up the devotion of the sluggish and increase their affection. Friar John Peckham, in 1281, ordered the church bells to be struck at least on one side at the elevation, so that those who were absent might kneel on hearing the sound. Lindewode[4] says that this did not mean that more than one bell need be rung in

[1] *Summa omnium Conciliorum*, collecta per F. Barth., Carranzum, Parisijs, 1678; p. 800. Perhaps the Tenth Canon of Winchester in 1076 is aimed at the practice (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 365).

[2] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, j, 641. [3] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, j, 668.

[4] W. Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: Tit. *De celebratione missarum*: Cap *Altissimus*: Verb. *Campane*.

each church, and also that that one should be rung which could be heard at the greatest distance. The Synod of Exeter,[1] in 1287, required each church in the diocese to have a sacring bell, and a Legatine Constitution of about the same date makes a similar direction for Lombardy.[2] John, Bishop of Lüttich,[3] ordered one to be rung three times at the sacring, so that the people might adore.

The earlier versions of the poem known as the "Lay-Folk's Mass-Book" are acquainted with the custom, but it is not yet general. When "time is near of sackering, a little bell men *use* to ring." But in the later texts it is, "A little bell men *is* to ring," or "he will to us ring."[4] In the "Treatise of the Manner and Mede of the Mass" it is the signal for attention:—

> "Yet shall ye pray for anything
> Between the *Sanctus* and the sacring
> Till that the bell knell."[5]

While Lidgate instructs the layman—

> "When he ringeth the cross bell
> Pray then for another skill,
> That thou be worthy to see that sight,
> That shall be in his hands light."[6]

And the custom of ringing this bell as a warning before the sacring is further illustrated by a poem[7] on the death of the Duke of Suffolk, written *c.* 1450:—

> "I pray some man do ring the bell
> That these foresaid may come to the sacring."

As is often the case, customs that are quite innocent in themselves give rise to abuses, and from this custom of ringing a bell just before the sacring there soon arose another less desirable practice. At the sound of this bell clergy and

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ij, 140.

[2] L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1726; t. viij, p. 1067.

[3] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Nove. Anecdotorum*, Lut. Parisiorum, 1717; t. iv, p. 337.

[4] T. F. Simmons, *The Lay-Folk's Mass-Book*, E.E.T.S., 1879; pp. 36–39.

[5] *Ibid.*, 144. [6] *Ibid.*, 150.

[7] *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, 1859–61; vol. ij, p. 234.

lay folk alike forsook their devotions and rushed off to gaze at the elevated host. Grandisson of Exeter introduced some corrective rules (§ 27) aimed at this practice into the code of Statutes,[1] which he drew up for his college of St. Mary Ottery in 1339, forbidding the ringing of the sacring bell at any masses while quire services were in saying, lest any should "go out or turn to gaze at the sacrament." But whatever may have been the effect of this prohibition at St. Mary Ottery, elsewhere the practice spread unchecked.

The "inventory of stained cloths for the altars and the Sepulchre" is more interesting. It begins with the cloth painted with the Coronation of our Lady, which figured in the inventory of 1395; but the companion one of the Trinity has disappeared. The other fronts, which presumably belonged to the high altar, were a cloth "with popinjays and scriptures" and two sets given by Sir Maurice Hardwick, the compiler of the book. One of these was of red damask-work, with a crucifix and Mary and John, and the other of white, with the Coronation of our Lady and other imagery-work. The "pair of altar cloths of St. Ursula" mentioned in the list of his benefactions do not appear in the inventory. For the Lady Altar were a pair of blue damask-work and one with popinjays and scriptures. Cloths of blue damask-work belonged also to the rood altar and St. Thomas' Altar, as well as a cloth with popinjays and scriptures. St. John's Altar similarly had a cloth with popinjays and scriptures, and probably the second set of blue cloths is mistakenly attributed to the Cross Altar, and should belong to the former. It also had a set painted with the Nativity and Passion of Christ, and a single white cloth with the image of St. John the Baptist.

For the Easter Sepulchre there was a cloth painted with "St. Mary Magdalen, and four knights," and another powdered with flowers of gold.

[1] George Oliver, *Monasticon Diœcesio Exoniensis*, Exeter and London, 1846, p. 270: "Quo casu prohibemus ne campanelle ad elevacionem sacramenti pulsentur, quod qui canentes in choro non exeant nec se divertant ad videndum sacramentum, sed devote officio suo intendant."

To adorn the quire at every high feast Sir Maurice Hardwick gave four stained cloths of red and yellow, on which were wreaths and "the Arms of the Passion," and in the middle of the arms the words, DULCIS EST JHESU AMOR MEUS. These cloths were of some considerable size, measuring $13\frac{3}{4}$ yards long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ yards broad.

For obits there was "a black cloth of stained work," with a white crucifix and a "scripture of Jhc"; and this seems by rights to have belonged to Halleway's Chauntry, and only been lent to the church. Alice Chester, finding that it was the only one worth anything, gave the church another, made of black worsted, on which were the letters H.C. and A.C. (*i.e.* Harry Chester and Alice Chester) and the "scripture" in gold letters, ORATE PRO ANIMABUS HENRICI CHESTER ET ALYCE UXORIS EIUS, and over it a stained cloth crosswise with a crucifix.

Only one of the riddells stained with an angel remained in 1469 of those in the inventory of 1395; but the high altar was provided with a pair of white and purple silk, another of stained work powdered with gold, and a third pair of stained work with popinjays. The nether altars were not so well off. Our Lady's Altar had a pair of blue and green silk, and a stained pair of blue damask. Of like stuff were those at St. Thomas' Altar and the Cross Altar, while those at St. John's Altar were stained with the Passion.

We now come to the books, and with these the church was well provided. Three antiphoners, one large one lying before the vicar in the quire heading the list; two porthoses and two psalters; three legends, six processioners (and two abreviated ones added later), and six grails (another added later) represent the books for the quire. Two ordinals, two manuals, and a martiloge, a hymner added later, and a collectar containing anthems noted, and all the epistles and gospels, given in 1496 by Sir John Thomas; four massbooks, besides that belonging to Halleway's Chauntry, and one (abreviated) given later by William Tornowe complete the list, which should have been continued with "all other

books not occupied." The details about the books in the earlier inventory are hardly sufficient to enable us to identify them in the later one.

In ornaments for the ministers the church was still only fairly well off—nine vestments and three suits. The following table gives their description :—

TABLE OF VESTMENTS AT ALL SAINTS IN 1469.

WHOLE SUITS.

1. Cloth of gold of tissue (2 copes, chasuble, 2 tunicles, with albs, apparels and stoles).
2. Blue velvet with branches of gold, given by J. & K. Leynell, orphreys of red velvet with splayed eagles (2 copes, chasuble, 2 tunicles, with albs, apparels and stoles.
3. [Black bawdkin with orphreys of green (cope, chasuble, 2 tunicles), given by John Pers in 1431, but not in the inventory.]

SINGLE VESTMENTS.

1. A pair of *light green* cloth of gold, orphreys of purple bawdkin, given by Sir Richard Parkhouse, 1436.
2. A pair of *sad green*, orphreys of red cloth of gold, given by Sir Thomas Marshall, 1434.
3. A pair of *sad blue*, with garters, orphreys red, given by the same.
4. A pair of *black* with gold stars, orphreys white powdered with lilies bought in 1406.
5. A pair of *red* dimity, orphreys of yellow dimity.
6. A pair of *sad purple*, orphreys old, of cloth of gold.
7. A pair of old *cloth of gold*, orphreys of yellow ribbon.
8. A pair of old *cloth of gold*, orphreys of fustian naples.
9. A pair of *white* for Lent.
10. A pair of *green* tartaron with red orphreys and peacock feathers, given by Thomas Cogan.
11. A pair of *black* with boars, orphreys of green oak leaves.

The remaining vestments — a white damask suit given in 1496, a suit of blue bawdkin and another of black worsted entered in the book *c.* 1494, a blue satin vestment given in or after 1493, a pair of green dornick given *c.* 1491, and an incomplete suit of blue of about the same date— are all additions.

The proportion of colours is as follows in the two inventories, eliminating additions:—

TABLE OF COLOURS IN THE TWO INVENTORIES OF 1395 AND 1469.

	1395.			1469.	
	SUITS.	SINGLES.	COPES.	SUITS.	SINGLES.
Cloth of Gold... ...	1	2	2	1	2
Blue	1	0	1	1	1
Black	0	2	0	1	2
Green	1	0	0	0	3
Red (purple, &c.) ...	0	3	0	0	2
White	0	1	0	0	0
White for Lent ...	0	0	0	0	1
Yellow	0	1	0	0	1
Unnamed	0	1	2	0	1
Total	3	10	5	3	13

The "inventory of Fringes and Banners" consists of three "frontells" or frontlets, *i.e.* the apparel to the altar cloth which hangs down to conceal the attachment of the frontal or nether-front; two more for adorning the Easter sepulchre; another for hanging over the head of the image of All Hallowen[1] at every principal feast, and a cloth to hang

[1] *i.e* of the Holy Trinity, as an old man holding a crucifix between his knees and a dove before his breast. In 1511 Warham found that at Lydd in the deanery of Lymme "they lack a principal image of Alhallowen," and enjoined them "to provide an image of the Holy Trinity, to whose honour the church was dedicated" by a certain date (*British Magazine*, 1846; vol. xxx, p. 264, § 404).

behind at the same times, given by Sir Maurice Hardwick in 1471.

There are two banners of stained work of All Hallowen and the Ascension, and another of cloth of silver; one of blue silk with a figure of All Hallowen of gold for the cross, and at a later date (*c.* 1500) another of blue sarsenet with gold flowers, the image of All Hallowen and the letters T. P. given by Thomas Pernaunt.

The jewels are many and costly. There is a silver-gilt cross weighing 220 oz., the tabernacle of the Coronation of our Lady already described, another (also at the high altar) of silver-gilt with a figure of St. Saviour, and two figures of John and Christian Haddon, and angels; both of these are valued at £20. The monstrant of silver-gilt given by Thomas and Joan Halleway, weighing 57¼ oz., has been referred to above. To Roger Gurdeler's pix has now been added a spoon to match, the total weight being 45 oz. There is a pair of silver censers and a ship of the same metal, and a pair of silver candlesticks weighing 75 oz.

The chalices and patens are enumerated separately: five silver-gilt, one parcel-gilt, another all gilt given by the Leynells, and two belonging to Halleway's Chauntry. These are followed by a list of the corporas-cases, seven in number —one blue (another of the same colour given later by Katharin Leynell), one black, two green, one yellow, and one "old case with a lap-over." All but one contained a corporas-cloth. Besides these there is "i black corporas with a crown of gold," which may be a corporas-case, but seems to be an example of the rich corporasses which were coming into use in defiance of the canon law during the fifteenth century, and which developed into the modern chalice-veil. To hold the paten and bring in the sacred vessels are two pateners of needlework.

The "inventory of pillows," inventory of paxbreds and crewets," and "inventory of linen cloths for the best vestments" are not filled in. To these follow six inventories of deeds.

A list of the churchwardens and the good deeds done in their days is the next entry in the book, and followed by the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1407 (?) to 1482, with a few omissions. There is preserved in the church another series of accounts of 1446, 1449 to 1601 (also not quite complete), besides others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are in loose quires, indifferently cared for. The items are usually much fuller in the original than in the copy entered in the bound volume, and obscure places are often considerably illumined.

It will be convenient now to describe the church and its adornments as depicted in scattered items in the accounts.

There are certain payments and receipts in them which are annual items. Such are receipts for seats or pews, for burials or graves, and for "the crown and the cross." The former explain themselves. The crown and the cross seems to be the best cross, and the payment was for its use in the funeral processions. The Latin inventory of 1395 has an addition, "*Item unum castellum cum iiij angelis pro cruce*," and in the inventory of 1469 is the item, "*i Crown with iiij Angels of tree painted*," which seems to be the same thing, as we saw before.

There seem to have been special collections made on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Day every year, and generally on Shere (or Maundy) Thursday and Easter Even as well. On Palm Sunday it was usually for the suffragan's wages, and later for the sexton's. On Good Friday at first it is said to have been at the cross, *i.e.* at cross-creeping, when it was customary to offer small gifts of money and kind; and later these were devoted "to the reparation of the Jewells." For the other days the object varied: sometimes it is said to be for wax, sometimes for the pascall; and frequently to be "the duties of them that were huselled" in the case of all the gatherings (except those on Good Friday), and specially those of Easter Even and Easter Day.

Of annual payments, there is the usual contribution to the

cathedral church, entered as either "to the mother church" or "to our Lady of Worcester"; payments to the raker for cleaning away the church dust, for besoms and brushes, for the church wax (*i.e.* candles), for rushes and straw to cover the church floor, and for washing the church linen and scouring the candlesticks, &c. Keeping or watching the sepulchre, coals, bread, and ale for the watchers, bearing the banners in the Rogation processions, and a number of items for that on Corpus Christi Day are also yearly entered, until King Edward VI's time.

Upon the high altar on principal feasts would be the two silver-gilt tabernacles already described, with the rest of the "jewels," standing upon the reredos. After 1486 it was further adorned with Prior Herlowe's seventy-five gold flowers for holding tapers. The candlesticks set upon the altar were of latten on ordinary days, but they had also a pair of silver, which probably served for great feasts.

In 1411 two angels were painted "at the high altar" (perhaps those on the riddells already referred to), and there was a front, to the gilding of which one John Lord gave 10*s*. (died in 1514) and "the man of Lichfield that died at the New Inn" in 1515 also a small sum.

Some of the altar hangings were very magnificent, as, for instance, the set given by Dame Maud Spicer sometime between 1492 and 1496, containing apparel both for the over-part and the lower-part, made of Bruges satin, with flowers and a crucifix of gold set out on the same, with two "frontells" or frontlets of black velvet, with M's of gold crowned and "JHC" on them, fringed below with silk of changeable colours, and two curtains of blue satin for the altar ends with silk fringes of divers colours, which cost in all £7 18*s*. 7*d*.

The Eucharist was reserved over the high altar in the fourteenth and following centuries, as was the common (though not universal) custom in England[1] and the north

[1] William Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: Tit. *De custodia eucharistie*: Cap. *Dignissimum*: Verb. *Cum clausura*: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxxix.

of France at this period. The pix given by Roger Gurdeler in 1305 has already been described. In 1520 the chain by which it was suspended was of silver. The lamp that hung in a bason before the Eucharist in the quire[1] was endowed in 1397 by one Philip Excestre, Thomas de Wyndesore being vicar. The royal license for the same is still at All Saints, and is printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lvii 179. It was further endowed by Thomas Halleway in founding his chauntry.

It was customary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the lowermost cloth on the altar to be woven of hair,[2] to serve as a protection to the finer linen cloths laid over it. Such a cloth was bought in 1450 for the high altar, and again on the restoration under Queen Mary in 1554.

Four standard candlesticks stood in the quire before the altar, as at the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas and many others. The candles for the standards weighed 4 lbs. in 1480 and 5 lbs. in 1492. In 1495 were purchased a dozen tan skins to make cases for the standards and the gospel-eagle. The latter, of latten, weighing 2 cwt. 1 qr., cost £8, and was given by Dame Maud Spicer. The standards required bars of iron to stay them in 1527.

By the high altar was a buffet, to hold the jewels, in 1542. In 1560 the stone altars were for the second time pulled down, a "communion table" replacing that in the quire in 1562. The Decalogue had been set up at the east end in the previous year.

In the chancel, by Winchelsey's orders, the parishioners had to provide the principal image, "to wit, that of the saint to which the church was dedicated: provided that," says Lindewode, "such image is imaginable."[3] For when the

[1] For further information on the subject of the ceremonial use of lights in the Anglican Church, see *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Historically Considered*, edited by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, Rivingtons, 1899; pp. 1 *sq.*

[2] See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1900; vol. iv, pp. 152 *sq.*

[3] Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: Tit. *De ecclesiis edificandis*: Cap. *Ut parrochiani*: Verb *Imaginem principalem.*

church is dedicated in worship of All Hallowen, I do not think that an image representing all the saints could possibly be made, but either many ought to be made or none." At All Saints, Bristol, they had an image of All Hallowen (*i.e.* of the Trinity, I presume) instead, as appears from an entry in the accounts for 19–20 Edward IV: "These be the costs of the aumbries in the quire afore All Hallowen, and for ceiling of the arch, and for ceiling of the wall before the Rood Altar as it followeth." The image of the saint of the place was usually on the north side of the high altar, and one of our Lady often on the south.

There are frequent references to an image of "our Lady in the pillar," to irons about it, robes for it, &c. The Latin inventory of 1395 distinguishes between the image of our Lady and her Child "in the chapel" and that "in the pillar." There was also an image of St. Anne "in the pillar," but where these were does not appear. There was a bason with a light in it hanging before one of the images of our Lady in 1478.

On the south side of the quire was the presbytery, under a gable-window made by Sir Thomas Marshall. (On page 79 of the MS. the window is said to have been "at his own cost," but in 1407 (?) there is recorded the receipt of £6 from two persons for the same.) In the same year the accounts record the making of the presbytery, and in the following were bought "four cushions of stained work with eagles" for the same and the two chairs for the quire bought at the same time. It is evidently the same thing as the seats for the priest and his assistants, now more commonly known as the sedilia.

The year 1407 saw also the setting of children's seats in the quire, and the making of a pulpit. In 1520 two new forms were made for children in the quire.

A Dr. Harper presented the church with a great press for copes and vestments, which stood in the quire in the sixteenth century.

The north aisle was the Lady Chapel, called in the latter

half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries more often by the name of Jesus Aisle, and the altar therein Jesus Altar. In the middle of the thirteenth century it would appear that there was no Lady Chapel,[1] as the mass of St. Mary was said at the high altar. In 1333, on Friday after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (*i.e.* June 30th), John [Snowe], Abbot[2] of St. Austin's (and the other parties concerned) granted permission to build *domum supra murum plage seu partis borialis eiusdem Ecclesie ab hostio . videlicet partis eiusdem et columpna eadem obiecta deorsum protensam triginta pedes in longitudine et versus vicum qui dicitur Corn strete ex transverso columpne predicte viginti et tres pedes in latitudine continentem*, provided that *prefata Ecclesia subtus domum predictum* was not made *strictior, brevior, aut angustior.* About a century later, on November 14th, 1443, a conference was held in the chapter-house of the Greyfriars of Bristol between thirty-two parishioners of All Saints, including the wardens, and the prior and brethren of the Kalendars,[3] concerning *constructionem et fabricam domus cuiusdam modo ut speratur de novo construende et levande, supra quamdam Capellam beate marie situatam in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum antedictam, in parte boriali eiusdem, in se extendendam a Campanili ecclesie illius ex parte Orientali . usque Domum Kalendarum ex parte Occidentali.* After some "altercation" between the parties as to the division of the repairs and up-keep, it was settled to the satisfaction of all persons concerned, and on November 16th, the feast of St. Edmund Abp., 1443, a tripartite agreement[4] was drawn up granting the permission from Walter [Newbury], Abbot of St. Austin's, with the assent

[1] Item lego domum meam . . . ad perpetuum iuvamen luminaris in eadem ecclesia ad missam beate virginis Marie ante summum altare (Will of Alice Halye, 1261 A.D. See *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 163).

[2] MS. deed 233 at Bristol Museum Library, endorsed, "*Inter Nos et fratres Kalendarum Bristollie de domo situata super Muros ecclesie omnium Sanctorum*," and sealed with the Kalendars' seal on green wax. Indented.

[3] From a MS. at All Saints', a "public instrument" drawn up by one Richard Morgan, *clerk*, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary.

[4] One of the indentures is at the Bristol Museum Library, MS. 235, sealed with the Kalendars' seal on red wax, endorsed in the hand in which

and consent of his convent and the parishioners of All Saints. After reciting the charter of his predecessor, John [Snowe], it sets forth that the now prior and one Richard Haddon, executors of the will of John Haddon and Christina his wife, *eandem Domum prosternere intendentes, et quasdam fenestras vitreas, ad lumen ecclesie predicte amplificandum, in dicto muro ubi eadem Domus de antiquo constructa existit, de novo construere et levare proponunt. Sic quod eadem ecclesia ad honorem Dei maiores pulcritudinem et decorem poterat adipisci.* The Kalendars on their part undertake to pray *uberius et libencius* for the souls of the aforesaid, and all faithful departed. Permission is then granted to them to rebuild the house *supra quamdam Capellam beate Marie in ecclesia predicta in dicta parte Boriali, in se extendendam a Campanili Ecclesie illius ex parte Orientali, usque Domum predictam prioris et confratrum ex parte occidentali;* after which the arrangements agreed on about repairs, &c., follow.

These proceedings show that the north aisle was the Lady Chapel, and that over it Sir John Gillard (then prior) and Richard Haddon built a room for the Kalendars, as is related in the book of records under the benefactions of those two "good-doers." This room is referred to in the same book as their "library." "The Library" is also mentioned in the accounts for 1586-7. The windows were glazed with the story of *Te Deum Laudamus* by them; a new window had been put in in 1407.

There seems to have been a cupboard under the altar, or in the wall at the end of it. In 1407 hinges were bought for this altar, and in 1477 the lock of the little mister door at our Lady Altar's end was mended. In 1434 the riddells for this altar are mentioned, and again in the inventory of 1469.

On the south side of the Lady Altar was an image of Jesus, over which Alice Chester "let made in carved work a tabernacle with a Trinity in the middle," about 1470. She

the chief part of the records has been entered, "Evydenc' of þe Kalendare for þe Repacyon of þe Gutter' nexte þe Strete." Another copy is preserved at All Saints, with the remains of several seals.

also "let gild on her own cost our Lady Altar joining to the said image of Jesus." On the north side of the same altar she set up a tabernacle with three stories of our Lady, one of our Lady of Pity,[1] the second of the Salutation of our Lady, and the third of the Assumption of our Lady. All were gilt.

In 1474 the hoop before our Lady's Pity was mended. This held up a curtain run on rings (1481), and painted with three stories of our Lady. In 1511 they set a hoop of iron over the carving of the Assumption. There was a candlestick before it, which was mended in 1523. The rope for the Salve bell in the tower ran by this image (1480). This bell was to call the people to the singing of the famous anthem *Salve Regina* every night after Complin.

There was an image of our Lady and her Child in the chapel, but its position is not indicated (1395). Mantles were provided for it, and a lamp hung in a bason before it, or that "in the pillar," it is not clear which (1437, 1474).

Near the south end of the altar, under the image of Jesus, was a door leading to the vestry, presumably in the same position as the present vestry under the tower (1521, 1541). There was a loft or gallery somewhere there called Jesus Loft (1539), perhaps across the first bay of the nave next to the roodloft, or else on a screen before the altar.

Before the altar hung a lamp in a bason (1450, 1500), and there was a coffer in 1437 to hold tapers and torches standing near it. In 1474 mention is made of "one of the misters afore Jhesu."

The most noteworthy altar-cloths were a set given by Alice Chester, the overfront representing our Lord rising out

[1] A fair image of our Blessed Lady, having the afflicted body of her dear son, as he was taken down off the cross, lying along in her lapp, the tears, as it were, running down pitifully upon her cheeks, as it seemed, bedewing the said sweet body of her son, and therefore named *The Image of our Lady of Pitty* (J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, *The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford*, p. 13). Cf. the shorter description of a similar image in the *Description . . . of all the . . Rites . . . of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842; p. 33.

of the Sepulchre, sometimes called our Lord's Pity, with a netherfront and two curtains all "of one work."

In the 8 Edward IV there was a large expenditure for "the stuff and the handiwork of your new seges in our Lady chapel afore Jhesus." The items cover nearly three pages in the original quire. It would appear that the work was hurried on as quickly as possible, since they provided "tallow candles for to give light to the carpenters on evenings and a mornings to work by." On Saturday, October 8th, John Hill, the carpenter, received 3*s.* 4*d.* for six days' work, and his man 6*d.* for three days. On Saturday, October 15th, he received 2*s.* 8½*d.* for five days' work, and his man 10*d.* for the same time. On the following Saturday he had another 2*s.* 8½*d.* for the same amount of work, and his man 10*d.*; John Gryffethe, another carpenter, receiving 2*s.* 8½*d.* "for 5 days work in the week of St. Luke." On the 29th Hill only had 2*s.* 5*d.*, as he had only worked four and a half days, and his man 9*d.* John Griffethe had the same as Hill. On the 5th, 12th, and 19th of November similar payments were made. The pews seem to have had doors, as hinges (jemmews) and locks were bought; also "3 clamps of iron, the which bindeth the seges unto the church wall." The mason was called in at the same time to make "the stapp afore $\overline{\text{Jhc}}$." Yet it seems a long time to take to make but "3 segys." The cost was 56*s.*

In 1474 2*d.* was paid "for the mending of a sege underneath the Kalendars beneath in the church," perhaps one of these; and in 1477 another sum of 8*d.* "for the mending of the seges next to the Kalendars' door in the nether end of the church," which also may refer to these. On the other hand, there may have been many pews in the aisle and in the nave.

In 1480 the wall of the north aisle before the image of Jesus was ceiled. When the altars were restored under Mary, Jesus Altar was set up with the others.

It was a custom every year to provide a breakfast for the priests and clerks that sang our Lady Mass in Lent.

In 1430 there was made a long desk in this chapel,

probably the same as the "desk for the singers at our Lady Altar" of the inventory of 1469.

The altar of the holy rood was situate in the south aisle, where now is the monument to Edward Colston, the great philanthropist and good churchman. The south aisle is commonly called the Cross or Rood Aisle. A deed endorsed "the Alms house 12*d*. 2 Evidences" mentions that one Hugh Kict left 12*d*. rent assize to support a lamp burning daily before the altar of the holy rood in All Saints. The deed was drawn up in the mayoralty of Simon Clerk, *i.e.* 1268 A.D. according to Ricart's Kalendar. Martin Draper also contributed to the same, about the middle of the thirteenth century, if we can trust the statement in this present book.

During the fourteenth century we hear nothing of the Rood Aisle, but in the early part of the fifteenth it was rebuilt. William Worcester [1] records that his uncle, Sir Thomas Botoner, Fellow of the Kalendars, who died when he (William) was about six years old, was buried in the eastern part of the south porch, but that he believed his bones were removed at the time of the building of the new aisle. As William Worcester was born in 1415, this would show that the south aisle was rebuilt about 1421.

To the building of this aisle one John Forges, cook, subscribed £5 6*s*. 8*d*., John Pers in 1431 the sum of twenty marks. Thomas Halleway and his wife Joan subscribed £20 to it. Thomas Fyler (died in 1425?) and his wife Agnes (died in 1467) gave the roof. Sir Thomas Marshall in 1434 paid for the glazing of two windows in the aisle, one of the seven works of Mercy and the other of the seven sacraments. The window over the altar was glazed in 1437.

Chained to a pillar inside the enterclose of the altar was a breviary given by Sir William Warrens in 1482.

After the death of her husband in 1471 Alice Chestyr erected a new front (probably a reredos) for the Rood Altar

[1] *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, Cantabrigiae, 1778; p. 190.

in the south aisle. It had five principal images—one of St. Anne, the second of St. Mary Magdalen, the third of St. Giles, the fourth of St. Erasmus, and the fifth of St. Anthony. It was all gilded "full worshipfully." She also gave a cloth of the Passion of our Lord to be drawn before the altar at certain times, after the pleasure of the vicar and the parishioners. In 1478 there was put up an iron rod or wire for the cloth to hang by before the altar, and from which it was suspended by forty-two rings. It would seem to have hung in front of the reredos, and not to be the netherfront, as 3*d*. was paid "for setting in of the irons in the wall." Four staples of iron were bought at the same time for holding up the riddells at the altar ends.

Under the end of the Rood Altar was a little mister or cupboard, for the door of which a new key was bought in 1477.

There was a lamp in a bason hanging before this altar; in fact the earliest allusion to the altar is in an endowment of the light before it.

In 1474 mention is made of "the little vestry door at the Rood Altar end." This little door is still to be seen at the north end of the Colston monument. Over it Alice Chestyr had set "a crucifix with Mary and John."

Sir John Gyllarde, Prior of the Kalendars, who died in 1451, presented the church with four seats in the Cross Aisle, which cost him £3; and John Haddon, whose executor he was, made the Story of the Doom, a very favourite subject in the later Middle Ages, in the same aisle. A good example of this may be seen over the chancel arch at St. Thomas's, Salisbury.

There remain two more altars which were still in existence in the sixteenth century, and a third of which we know no more than that one John Kyft, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, left a rent to sustain a lamp burning before it. All further traces of it have disappeared. The other two—dedicated the one to St. Thomas, and the other

to SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan—were most probably situate one on either side of the quire door under the roodloft. In the accounts for March 25th, 1549—March 25th, 1550, is a payment of 4*s.* 4*d.* "for white liming where the roodloft stood, and for stopping the holes, and for breaking down the two altars, and for paving where they stood." And in an inventory of the goods of Halleway's Chauntry (which was founded at the second of the two altars), dated March 27th, 1457, is mentioned "a little tye that standeth between the vicar and the said altar." This would place St. John's Altar on the south and St. Thomas's on the north side of the quire door. An arrangement of this sort was very common; at the church of St. Mary, Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire, the entercloses of the altars in this position may still be seen.

There was also an altar in the vestry in 1524.

In 1430 a new table (reredos) was carved and painted for St. Thomas's Altar, and fifty years later, at the cost of 43*s.* 4*d.*, they made "a new front otherwise called a reredos, with three houses (for three images)" at the same altar.

Dame Maud Spicer gave a pair of latten candlesticks, "to stand continually upon St. Thomas's Altar," in the last decade of the fifteenth century. They bought a canvas cloth in 1521 to cover the linen altar-cloths out of mass time, and a hair cloth 2 yards long to lay on the altar underneath them. The inventory of 1469 mentions two cloths of blue damask-work, and one with popinjays and "scriptures," as belonging to this altar. In 1526 they bought a desk for it.

On the vicar's side of the quire, under the roodloft, stood the altar of SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan, as it is termed in the official documents relating to the foundation of the Chauntry of Thomas and Joan Halleway[1] thereat. It was the morrow-mass altar,

[1] For some account of this chauntry, and a nearly complete set of original documents concerning it, see the *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* for 1902: vol. xxiv, pp. 74 *sq.*

and one Thomas ap Howell gave the table of alabaster (or reredos) that stood upon it. The morrow-mass bell and its apparatus were given by Thomas Halleway, who also paid for all the pews before it. In 1457 belonging to the chauntry at this altar were "two stained cloths for the altar, performed, one of the Passion above, and another beneath of the three Kings of Cologne; with two riddells, one on one side of the Passion, and another in the other side, with two false cloths in the back side of them. Also another stained cloth beneath for the said altar of St. John Baptist." In the inventory of of 1469 the former are described as "of the Nativity and the Passion of Christ," and the latter "of white, with an image of St. John the Baptist." Besides these, there was a cloth with popinjays and scriptures, and probably a set of blue cloths for the same altar.

To lie upon it was "an hair to the said altar," and a double set of altar linen: "two altar-cloths of canvas for to lie next the altar, two altar-cloths of crest cloth to lie upon the canvas, and two altar-cloths of Brabant [linen] for to lie above": and to save the trouble of putting the cloths away out of mass time, "a canvas to the said altar to hele him withal."

In 1436 they made entercloses about all the nether altars, for which purpose they bought, amongst other things, a load of freestone.

We first meet with the enterclose in the accounts of 1407, and in those of 1430 the rood screen and loft were put up at considerable cost. Twelve dishes or bowls of latten were brought from London to hold the rood lights. There are payments besides to the painter, the plasterer, and the glazier. In 1473 they put up a new loft and enterclose for 55*s.* 8*d.*, and put the organ in it. Ten years later Alice Chestyr presented the church with a magnificent one, which has been already described. In 1549-50 the loft was pulled down, to be re-erected under Mary, and again pulled down after her death.

There are the usual payments for rood lights, and for

candles in the loft on Christmas morning. No description of the images and of the rood have survived, but there are payments for the cloth before the rood on Palm Sunday and its cord. "At the end of the procession on this day,[1] when the people are once again entered into the church, then doth all the people kneel down, and the priest plucking up the cloth wherewith the crucifix was covered, and making it open to all that are there present, singeth a certain song [*Ave Rex noster*]. And so endeth the procession." On this day also the roodloft was used for the chanting of the Passion by a body of priests and clerks. It does not appear that the gospeller was up there, but he read the words of our Lord, while the chorus of high voices chanted those of the Jews or the disciples, and others sang the words of the Evangelist. But at Long Melford the priest who read the Passion on Good Friday stood in the roodloft.

The chief use of the roodloft was, however, to hold the organs and the singers, at any rate in the later Middle Ages. In 1454 there were several payments for the organs, but whether these were in the roodloft is not stated. In 1472, however, they bought new organs and set them up in the roodloft, at a cost of over £14, and a desk was set up there at the same time. It seems that they did not pay the whole sum down, as three years later there is the record of a payment of 13*s*. 4*d*. to Robert Bonnoke, "in part payment of the said organs"; and the wardens continue: "We could not have deliverance of our organs till the time that Bonnok was paid, the which we ask allowance for." In the accounts presented in 1519 there is mention of "a book at the organs," and in the following year of "the window in the organ loft." Whether this was identical with the roodloft does not appear.

[1] Thomas Becon, *Early Works*, Parker Society, 1843; p. 116

[2] J. P. Neale, *Views of ... Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, Melford, p. . And the gospel was undoubtedly read from the roodloft on Corpus Christi Day at Wingham Collegiate Church, at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign or thereabouts, and a cross was carried before the reader (*Sacristy*, 1871 vol. i, p. 376).

In 1520 they bought new organs, and a plank and stool for the same, which perhaps were "the organs in the quire" which were mended in 1523, and the little organs of 1531. Three years after the organs were re-formed. That the organs were not destroyed in the Puritan triumph of Edward VI's reign is evident from these items :—

"1549—1550. For making 2 peyses (weights) for the organs, 2*d*."

"1550—1551. For a cord for the organs, amount 2*d*."

Occasionally we find payments to the organist, *e.g.* in 1479, 1561, and 1562; and to the organ-blower, *e.g.* in 1556 and 1557.

Among the numerous good deeds of the Spicers in the last quarter of the fifteenth century may here be mentioned their decoration of the lower part of the nave. They spent 30*s*. "for the painting of two stories on two pillars of the lower part of the church, the one story over the font of the Baptising of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on that other pillar of the other part of the church a figure otherwise an image of St. Christopher."

It is now generally recognised that pews or seats[1] in churches are not an innovation of the sixteenth century, so that no surprise is felt at the receipt of 2*s*. for two seges in the earliest of the churchwardens' accounts, those for 1407, that have survived at All Saints. From that time seats form a source of revenue of varying amount. In those for 1455 the sum realised was 11*s*. 2*d*. It would seem that the sums paid were usually not annual rents, but for life tenancy, for the names do not reappear as a rule, and persons are mentioned as owning seats for which no sum appears in the receipts of that year. For instance, compare the following lists of those who paid for seats from six consecutive years, the 3rd to the 9th of the reign of Edward IV: —

[1] William Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III: Tit. *De ecclesijs edificandis*: Cap. *Ut parrochiani*: Verb. *Interius*: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxxxiij. The repair of the nave of the church within was understood by him to include whitewashing the walls and making seats.

3-4 EDWARD IV.

Howell ap rysse for changing his seat and his wife's), 8*d*.
William Bennett, 7*d*.
Thomas Abyngton (for his wife's seat), 8*d*.
John Lemsstyr, cook (for his and his wife's), 16*d*.
Jsabell Skey, 6*d*.
Thomas Golde, 4*d*.

4-5 EDWARD IV.

Thomas Abyngton, for his seat, 8*d*.
Jennett Barbur, 6*d*.
Jennett Bennett, 6*d*.
Davy Ostelar, for his wife's, 8*d*.
Davy Ostelar, for his own, 12*d*.

5-6 EDWARD IV.

The harpmaker, for his and his wife's, 8*d*.
Jsabell of the "almosse hows," 4*d*.
Thomas Denne for his and his wife's, 12*d*.
Katherine Hardware, 4*d*.
John Myllan, one for him and his wife, 8*d*.
John Aleyn, one for him and his wife, 12*d*.
Jsabell Payne, 4*d*.

6-7 EDWARD IV.

Mariore Mony, 7*d*.
Jenet Roberdes, 8*d*.

7-8 EDWARD IV.

Kateryn Hardewarewoman for a year's rent for a sege, 3*s*. 4*d*.
Giles Hardewareman and his wife, 16*d*.
Thomas Welsche's wife, 8*d*. (?)
Walter Trevet and his wife, 2*s*.
Thomas Nores, 8*d*.
Richard Aleyne and his wife, 16*d*.
Davy hosteler for his wife's, 12*d*.

8-9 EDWARD IV.

John Pynner, 2*s*. 8*d*.
Jhon Chestyr, 16*d*.

And in the accounts for the year 3-4 Edward IV we find these items:—

"Payde for a borde of elm to mende thomas taylors mod*ours* seeg and Jennett golde seeg, ij*d*."

"Payde for the mendinge of Kateryne Cynell seeg, j*d*."

Again in those for 6-7 Edward IV:—

"Payde for the mendynge in thom*as* Denne seeg, ij*d*."

In the accounts for 1496-7 there are payments for the new pews and

"p^{d} for takyng hop of the hold puys, 6*d*."

In those for 1529-30 there is a payment to the sexton for making clean "the new pews." In 1532-3 they bought for 4*s*. "four bundles of mats to dress the steps before the high altar and the rest that was left set by the pews side in the church." In 1534 there was one called "the Almshouse pew." Others were: "The blind woman's pew" in 1518, "the Poor Womens' pew" (1569), and "the Shriving pew" (1590). The last appears to be an example of an Elizabethan confessional box.

Besides the images already mentioned, one comes across that of St. Nicholas (1448) and of St. George (1521). In Michaelmas quarter, 1538, they set up "the Five Wounds" and took down "the images."

Besides the vestments mentioned in the inventories, others are mentioned in the accounts and elsewhere. Dame Maud Spicer, for instance, gave a single vestment of red cloth of gold that cost her £6 6*s*. 8*d*., and another of light blue damask, with the Five Wounds on the cross. The second best suit was but of bawdkin, until Katharin Leynell gave a finer suit of blue velvet, with branches of gold, and orphreys of red velvet having gold eagles displayed on them. When vestments got dirty it would seem that they could be washed, as was the second suit in 1475.

In 1495 they spent 33*s*. 2*d*. on repairing the church vestments: the items are numerous, and include ribbon, fringe, tuke, lockram, black say, copper-gold, silk, buckram,

red Cyprus of "borgens," blue satin of Cyprus, bread to scour the boars, &c. A cering candle for waxing purposes is also mentioned.

In the accounts presented in 1501 are mentioned the *blue* copes, a *blue* vestment, the *black* vestments, the *white* copes, and items for making the black vestments; and in the expenses of Corpus Christi Day: "To 2 young men for bearing of the two white tunicles, 2*d*." Lenten vestments were made that year, of white fustian. The blue vestments and the black cope are again mentioned in 1531.

In 1524 they bought a new press for copes and set it in the vestry, as well as a new frame with misters for vestments.

With the accession of Queen Mary came the revival of decency in public worship, and we read of the purchase of "a cope to wear the Sundays," "two vestments for the week," and "the copes and vestments of cloth of tissue." In 1555 they bought "a cope of red velvet embroidered with gold" and "a blue vestment" with the same adornment. One item further deserves notice, *apropos* of the modern custom of wearing a square Italian cap on the head with the mass vestments:—

> "1555–56. Paid for satin to make a parell for the amice to put on the priest's head, and for mending the copes, 4*s*. 4*d*."

Of the surplices, rochets, &c., little need be said. That the former were not of the indecent and scanty proportions at present popular in high church circles is evident, as the vicar's took ten ells of linen in 1445, the clerk's eight ells of Normandy linen in 1487, and of dowlas in 1527, and the suffragan's or second clerk's five ells in 1518. The clerk's only took three ells of lockram[1] in 1500. In 1467 one surplice took nine ells of holland, and in 1477 the same. A rochet took four ells in 1487.

We read of a surplice without sleeves in 1474, and

[1] Probably a surplice without sleeves.

surplices for children; and for priests, men, sexton, and children in 1542.

In 1557-8 was made a damask alb; it was against this sort of thing that the rubric in the book of 1549 requiring a white alb *plain* was directed.

There are numerous allusions to the books in the accounts. Amongst them we may notice the five carol books and five song books of square note in 1525, two five-part masses in 1526, and five pricksong books of eight masses in 1527, when they also had four books of masses and anthems of trebles and means for children. The song for St. Nicholas night was the prose *Sospitati dedit egros*, sung after the ninth respond at St. Nicholas matins, December 6th. At St. Nicholas Church, the next parish, the clerk used to have the avails or tips "on St. Nicholas night going with *Sospitati*."

The following obits were kept in All Saints' Church in the sixteenth century:—

Thomas Fylour and Agnes his wife, *November 20th*.
Henry and Alice Chester and Humphrey Hervy, *February 14th* (1st obit).
Thomas Spicer and Dame Maud his wife, *February 15th*.
Good Doers (*Thursday after Ash Wednesday*).
Henry Chester and Humphrey Hervy, *March 3rd* (2nd obit).
William Newbury, *May 10th*.
Dame Joan Pernaunt, *May 26th* (first in 1535—1536).
Thomas Hallewey and Joan his wife (special chauntry).

There was also a chauntry founded early in the fourteenth century by one Roger Turtle; but only one document exists now at All Saints connected with it, the directions for its foundation, and that, with the record of the licence,[1] is all that remains. In this document Roger Tortle confirms to God, the church of All Saints, and to Sir Henry de Faireford, chaplain, and brother of the Kalendars, and to his successors a certain messuage, &c., in Corn Street, to the foundation

[1] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1327–1330*, Record Series, 1891; p. 310.

of a chauntry in the said church about the third hour, *i.e.* 9.0 a.m.

There were many other obits kept only for a short term of years; John Lord's priest, who owned a buffet in 1518, belonged to one of these. In Queen Mary's days they kept up the obits of Spicer and Pernaunt, and three in 1559-60.

The bells numbered two in 1470, the great bell and the second bell; but by 1533 they had four, which were then recast and a fifth added. The old great bell weighed 15 cwt., but in the new set the heaviest was only 13 cwt. 1 qr. 25 lbs.

Public dinners were as much in vogue in medieval England as now, and all business of importance seems to have required drinks or a banquet. Thus when in 1475 they "paid to Horn for the deed of Margery Mony's place that Amy Howell dwells in—for we should not else have had it out of his hands—6*s.* 8*d.*," they also "paid for wine unto him to please him with, 8*d.*" The recorder, about the same time, brought and delivered to them two deeds from Thomas Fylour of London, and was consequently given a gallon of wine. Two Londoners left the church bequests in 1479, and 3*s.* 4*d.* was spent on a dinner to receive them.

Those priests and clerks who took part in the Lenten Lady Mass had an annual dinner. Judging by the bill of costs in 1503 4–1504/5 they fed fairly well:—

For a Dinner to the priests
& Clerks for our Lady Mass

Jn primis for 2 pigs	12*d.*
Jtem for 2 ribs of beaf	10*d.*
Jtem for 2 "costs" of mutton	5*d.*
Jtem for bread	6*d.*
Jtem for ale	6*d.*
Jtem for wine	12*d.*
Jtem for fire and spice	3*d.*
Summa,	4*s.* 6*d.*

On the day of account from 1499 onwards there was a

supper for the parishioners. In 1539 they provided the following:—

For 5 shoulders of mutton for the supper	2*s.*
For 2 "lownds" of veal	10*d.*
For a lamb	20*d.*
Paid for a dozen of chickens	20*d.*
Jtem for a couple of capons	2*s.*
Jtem for bread	8*d.*
For a dozen of ale	13*d.*
Jtem for spices	9*d.*

During the Corpus Christi procession there was a station or halt for wine, in the Marsh, during the sixteenth century; and after it was over, a dinner or a breakfast (it is called both) was provided. With the dinner at the time of the General Mind we have already dealt.

Occasionally we read of special collections for some specific object, as for instance in 1430 the receipt of £5 8*s.* 6*d.* "given of divers people of the parish for the great candlesticks" is acknowledged. On Palm Sundays a collection was made for the suffragan's wages, and later on for the sexton's. The suffragan was the name given in Bristol to the second or assistant clerk, and at All Saints he gradually took on the name of the sexton. But at other churches they seem to have been distinct persons. In 1477 the old suffragan became beadman by command of "the goodmen of the parish." In the later obits' accounts the beadman becomes the bellman. It was his duty to cry the obits, and ask for the bedes (or prayers) of his hearers on behalf of the deceased.

On All Saints' Day the Mayor and Sheriff[1] of Bristol were used "after dinner to assemble with all the whole council at the Tolsey, with many other Gentles and worshipful commoners, such as appeareth there at that time; and from thence to go into All Hallowen Church, there to offer, and from thence to walk all in fere unto the Mayor's place, there to have their fire and their drinkings with spiced cake bread

[1] *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, Camden Society, 1872; p. 79.

and sundry wines: the cups merily serving about the house: and then from thence every man departing unto his parish church to evensong."

The accounts for 1437 mention the procession on Sunday before St. Lawrence's Day (*i.e.* August 5th) "for breaking of the siege of Calais" on June 26th preceding. Amongst other events referred to are the ringing at the death of Henry VII (February 22nd, 1509), ringing at the procession for the capture of the French King on February 24th, 1525, and for the birth of Edward VI in October, 1537. According to Seyer, there was a general procession in Bristol of joy on the St. Luke's Day following, which is evidently referred to in the payment to children for bearing up the copes included in the item for ringing. In 1539 the relics were sent to the bishop.

In the summer of 1574 Elizabeth visited Bristol,[1] and the accounts record a payment for ringing for her. In 1578 the local ship *Swallow* was captured by the Turks, and the payment to the man of Plymouth who was captured by the same seems to refer to this. In 1596 they contributed to John Claudius' ransom in Candia.

Several large fires occurred in Elizabeth's reign, and All Saints' parish helped with their contributions. In 1595 three towns were burnt in Cornwall, Wolverhampton on May 3rd, 1596, and Stratford-on-Avon on May 24th.

The following list of vicars has been compiled from the various notices in wills, deeds, and churchwardens' account, which I have had occasion to examine in getting up this paper:—

Stephan de Gnohussale was there in 1254 (see *Archaeological Journal*, 1901, lviij, p. 159).

William Selk was there in 1261 (Will of Alice Halye, see *ibid.*, p. 164). Made his will in 1270 (see *Trans. Br. and Glo. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-1, plate xxxv).

[1] *The whole Order howe our Soveraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth was receyved into the Citie of Bristowe* in 1574 is printed in the first volume of J. Nichols' *Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1788.

William Scoche was there *c.* 1290 (? 1285) (see *Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 170: in 1303 *ibid.*).

Walter Isgar died as vicar in 1321 (MS. Records, p. 78).

William Lenche was there in 1363 (*Calendar of entries in Papal Registers*, Rolls Series, 1896; vol. i, p. 429); in 1366 (Lease of a tenement in High Street, at All Saints); in 1385 (Will of Walter Derby in *Great Orphan Book*, fol. 15). The statement on page 315 of the Records that he was vicar at the time of the earlier inventory, 1395-6, must be a mistake. The original Latin version does not mention him.

Robert Amfray, presented on December 4th, 1388 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1385—1389, Record Series, 1900; p. 537).

Thomas Marchall, *vicar*, and Reginald Knap and Thomas Haleway, *proctors*, with the consent of several comparishioners, grant to Philip Excestre 16*s.* silver annual rent from a tenement in High Street, *the Green Lattice*, September 16th, 16 Richard II, 1392. The official witnesses are Thomas Knap, *mayor*, John Bannebury, *sheriff*, John Burton and Richard Hantefford, *bailiffs* and *chamberlains*. There are two other documents dealing with this money, dated October 17th, 13 Richard II, and September 20th, 16 Richard II.

Thomas de Wyndesore was there January 16th, 1396/7 (*Archaeological Journal*, 1901; lviij, 178).

Thomas Marchall was there in 1407 (perhaps earlier) according to the churchwardens' accounts attributed to that year, and died June 7th (? 17th), 1434 (Records, p. 78). He witnessed two deeds at All Saints on Christmas Eve, 1421, and August 10th, 1422, respectively.

Richard Parkhouse, who followed Marshall, died August 8th, 1436 (Records, 79).

William Rodberd, his successor, died June 6th, 1453 (Records, 80).

William Were, his successor, died or left in 1454 or 1455 (judging by the headings of the accounts).

Maurice Hardwyk, his successor, came in 1455, and died

in 1472 or 1473 (Records, 82. He gave several things to the church on April 4th, 1471, recorded on p. 84).

William Howe (1474 was the second year of his coming. Records, 85) was present at the accounts-audit in 1479.

John Thomas was the vicar when the accounts were presented in 1480. He was vicar in 1492 (Will of Thomas Baker), and in 1494 (Records, 1094).

Richard Bromefeld, or Bremefeld, was there in 1507 (Records, 614).

John Flook was there in 1525 and in 1530 according to three deeds at All Saints.

Humphrey Hyman was there in 1543 and 1544 according to two deeds at All Saints.

William Hastlen was there in 1569 and 1590 according to the accounts.

John Knyght was vicar in 1591 and 1596 according to the accounts.

Francis Arnold was vicar in 1597 and 1600 according to the accounts.

Such are the chief matters of interest in these valuable records of the parish of All Saints from the fourteenth century on to the seventeenth, and one may conclude with the quaint remark at the end of the accounts for the year 19-20 Edward IV, 1480:—

"Paid forthwith,
& so discharged every man pleased."

HERALDRY READ AT BREDON, STRENSHAM, PERSHORE, DUMBLETON, AND DIDBROOK, *May, 1904.*

By F. WERE.

BREDON CHURCH.

MITTON CHAPEL.

W. side. Achievement above tomb. Quarterly 1 and 4, "Azure a griffin segreant or," Reed; 2 and 3, "Argent three crossbows 2 and 1 gules, bows sable strings or," Reade; over all a crescent for difference. Crest: Eagle displayed armed or, which includes breast. On each side of tomb are two smaller shields: S. as above; N. quarterly 1, "Sable on a cross within bordure both engrailed or five pellets," Grevill; 2, "Ermine a fess chequy or and azure,' Ardern; 3, "Sable a cross engrailed or," Willoughby; 4, "Gules a fess between six martlets or," Beauchamp. Giles Reed does not appear in the Visitations of the Harleian Society, but Glazebrook, in his *Heraldry of Worcestershire*, page 460, gives his descent: he was of Mitton, and also lord of the manor of Walton Cardiffe, in Gloucestershire, in 1608 (Rudder, page 787). The 1 and 4 are the arms of the Reeds of Brunshill Castle, co. Hereford; 2 and 3 imply an early intermarriage with the Reades of co. Gloucester. He married Katherine, daughter of Sir Fulke Grevill, first knight, whose ancestor Lodouecus married Margaret, daughter and coheiress of Giles Ardren, of Drayton, the 2 quartering; whilst Sir Fulke married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Edward Willoughby, the 3 quar-

tering; and she brought in the 4 quartering, Beauchamp of Beauchamp's Court.

S. side. "Azure a chevron ermine between three trefoils slipped argent," PARSONS, impaling PARSONS. Charles *ob.* 1732, and Mary *ob.* 1739. I cannot find this marriage, but *Gloucester Visitation*, 1682, says Mercy, daughter of Charles Parsons, Esq., of Bredon, *ob.* 1777, *æt.* 72, married Thomas Cox; so he probably married one of the Parsons of Kemerton, co. Gloucester, whose arms were the same; but it seems to be an error blazoning the trefoils as "slipped," since that is the coat of Meade.

I discovered a loose shield on window-sill just before leaving, but the light was so bad, and it was defaced, I had not time to read it. Perhaps it was REED impaling BRYDGES, which is known to have been there, or part of the broken-up Sutton monument.

CHANCEL.

WINDOWS. N. "Chequy gules and or a chief ermine," TATTESHALL. Possibly an old lord of the manor. "Barry of six argent and sable ? purpure," query. S. "Gules a fess ? or between three lozenges argent," query. Possibly the fess and lozenges might have been charged or diapered. "Gules a fess between six crosses croslet 3.2.1 or," BEAUCHAMP, ? of Elmley.

BRASS. Four shields. 1: "(Argent) ten torteaux 4.3.2.1," SEE OF WORCESTER. 2: "(Argent) on a chevron (sable), a crescent for difference, in chief a label of three points (gules)," PRIDEAUX. 3: "Per pale a lion rampant between three fleurs de lys (? counter-changed)," query. Glazebrook says, page 451, Dr. John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, 1641–50, married first Mary, daughter of Dr. Taylor. I can find no Taylor arms like this; it is really Goodwyn. 4: "(Argent) masonry and a chief indented (sable)," REYNELL: and the same authority says the Bishop married secondly Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Reynell, of West Ogwell, Devon.

Adjoining is a flat stone with a shield bearing grand quarters 1 and 4. Quarterly 1 and 4, " . . . a lion rampant . . . ," query; 2 and 3, " . . . chevron between three crescents . . . ," query POLE; 2, " . . . ten roundels and a label of three points . . . ," query BABINGTON; 3, " . . . ? two chevrons between three roses, may be cinquefoils pierced . . . ," query, impaling PRIDEAUX, as before—it bears the date 1559, so nearly a hundred years antecedent to the bishop.

S. wall. Three shields. 1: Quarterly 1 and 4, "Argent a cross moline sable in dexter chief, a mullet ? or for difference," COPLEY; 2, "Or a fess embattled sable," query ABBERBURY, a quartering of Throckmorton and a Suffolk family—Thomas Copley's father was of Suffolk; 3, "Sable three bars argent," query, possibly EATON. [The pedigrees of the Copley family are numerous, but they do not bring in these quarterings. Can the last have anything to do with the barry coat in the window?] Impaling, "Per chevron argent and sable in chief two moorcocks (*Worcester Visitation*) proper," MIDDLEMORE. Thomas Copley married secondly Eleanor, daughter of William Midelmore, of Hacklow.

2: Achievement, the 1 without the impaling. Crest: A covered cup or.

3: The same as 1 without and impaling, "Gules on a canton argent a fleur de lys sable," NEWPORT. T. Copley's first wife was Margaret, daughter of George Newport.

Flat stone. Achievement. "(Or) a cross quarterly (gules and sable) in dexter chief, an eagle displayed (of the third)," WEBB, impaling "(Argent) on a chevron (gules) between three owls (sable) as many lozenges (ermine), on a chief (of the second) three trees eradicated (or)," HASELWOOD. Armories read these trees as branches, and Papworth as nuts, but it is evidently a canting coat. Crest: Demi buck salient (argent) attired (or). Motto: "Mors mihi lucrum." Rev. John Webb, jun., *ob.* 1724.

The tiles in the face of the steps of the sacrarium will form the subject of a separate paper.

STRENSHAM CHURCH.

CHANCEL.

N. side, three shields. 1: "Argent a chevron between three crosses croslet fitchy sable," and baronet's inescutcheon in chief. RUSSELL; with escutcheon of pretence, "Ermine on a chief indented azure three ducal coronets or," LITTON. Sir Francis Russell, Bart., *ob.* 1705, and the last of the line, married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Rowland Litton, Knt., of Knebworth, Herts.

2: Achievement and the fourteen shields, seven on each side of the S. side. Monument. 1, RUSSELL. 2, "Argent billetty and a lion rampant sable ducally crowned or," DE LA PLANCHES. Sir John Russell, Knt., Master of the Horse to King Richard II., *ob.* 1405, married Agnes, daughter and heiress of ? James Planches. Brass would say Agnes was third wife, but *Worcester Visitation*, p. 117, says Sir John's daughters were Elizabeth and Margaret, not his wives. 3, "Gules a saltire argent (may be argent a saltire gules) within a bordure azure bezanty," HODINGTON. Agnes, daughter and heiress of Thomas Hodington, married William Russell, son of Sir John. 4, "Azure three fishes (salmons) naiant in pale or." CROMELEYN. Lucy, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Cromeleyn, Knt., and Margaret Somerie married Sir Richard Hodington. 5, "Or two lions passant azure," SOMERIE. Margaret was daughter of Roger and Nichola D'Albini, according to *Worcester Visitation*, p. 118: but according to Burke daughter of Amabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert de Chaucombe, Knt., Roger Somerie's second wife; *Gloucester Visitation*, relict of Ralph, Lord Bassett. 6, "Gules a lion rampant or," D'ALBINI. If Burke's genealogy is right, and it seems to be backed up by Glazebrook, then this quartering and the rest belonging to it, have no place here. 7, "Or a cross engrailed azure," PEVERELL, Count de Boughan. 8, "Azure three garbs or," DE MESCHINES. Maud, daughter of Hugh de Meschines, Earl of Chester, married William, Earl of Arundel. 9, "Azure a wolf's head erased

argent," LUPUS. 10, "Argent three mullets gules," KNOVILL. This is a later Hodington quartering, and ? should take the place of 6, as Sir Baldwin Hodington married Joane, daughter and heiress of Sir John Knovill, Knt. 11, "Barry wavy of twelve (really six) azure and argent (generally argent and azure, may be gules) on a bend sable three bezants," GOLAFRE. Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir John Golafre, married John, son of Sir Baldwin Hodington. 12, "Argent on a bend gules three round buckles or," CASSY. Agnes (*Worcester Visitation*), Janna (*Gloucester Visitation*), daughter and heiress of Thomas Cassy, of Adesbury, married Walter Hodington, son of the last John. 13, "Argent on a bend azure three cinquefoils or," COKESEY. Elizabeth, daughter and ? heiress of Walter Cokesey, of Mitton, married Thomas Cassy, so comes in with 12. 14, "Argent on a bend engrailed plain cotised sable three mullets of the first," THURGRYN. Joane, daughter and heiress of Henry Thurgryn, married Thomas Hodington, son of Walter 12. 15, "Gules a sword fessways argent, hilted or between an esquire's helmet in chief of the second, and in base two garbs of the third," CHOLMLEY. Sir Thomas, or Sir John, *ob.* 1574, married Frances, daughter and coheiress of Lord Chief Justice Roger Cholmley. Crest: Demi lion rampant ? or holding in dexter paw a cross croslet fitchy sable, as in the arms.

3: RUSSELL, impaling LITTON. Defaced, but on lozenge, "Gules seven lozenges conjoined 3.3.1 vair on a canton or a mullet of six points sable," GUISE, impaling RUSSELL. Sir John Guise, third baronet of Elmore, co. Gloucester, married as his second wife and her third husband Anne, daughter and coheiress of Sir Francis Russell, last baronet; he *ob.* 1732, she *ob.* 1734, so in *Gloucester Visitation*, 1682-3.

SACRARIUM.

N. wall. Quarterly 1 and 4, "Argent a chevron sable between three crescents gules," WITHERS; 2 and 3 "quarterly gules and vert four pheons in cross in point, ? proper really argent," TRUBSHAW; with escutcheon of pretence,

quarterly 1 and 4, "Argent on each of three mounts entrailed, really vert a raven sable," RAVENHILL; 2, "Argent three bars wavy gules, really barry wavy of six argent and gules," DANSEY; 3, "Argent a chevron gules between three crosses croslet fitchy sable," error for RUSSELL, as the chevron should be sable. Monument said that Frances Russel was last descendant of the house and relict of Richard Nash, D.D., she *ob.* 1774; this is all wrong, as Sir Francis was the last male and his three daughters the last females, of which Anne has been recorded under Guise. Mary married Thomas Jones, and Elizabeth married William Dansey; she was the granddaughter of the last. Frances Ravenhill, as the escutcheon of pretence says, was the daughter of John Ravenhill, *ob.* 1754, and Catherine Dansey, daughter of Elizabeth above and relict of the Rev. Dr. Nash, when she married Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers. I believe all these families died *s.p.*, but she should have been styled Frances Withers, not Russel, or else Frances Russel Ravenhill.

N.E. wall. Brasses. Three shields. 1: 1, RUSSELL; 2, PLANCHES; 3, HODINGTON; 4, GOLAFRE; 5, CASSY; 6, COKESEY; 7, THURGRYN; 8, CROMELEYN; impaling quarterly 1 and 4, "(Azure) on a fess engrailed (or) between three spear heads argent a greyhound courant (sable)," UMPTON; 2 and 3, "Gules two chevrons argent," FETTIPLACE. Sir John Russell married Edith, daughter of Sir Thomas Umpton, of Wadley, Berks. *Worcester Visitation*, 1569, p. 119, 2 and 3. Nash and Grazebrook give the chevrons as "or" and the family as Walderscheff. They ought to be "argent," and are so given in Symond's *Diary*, when they would be Fettiplace, as Hugh Umpton married Sybill, daughter and heiress of William Fettiplace, of Stokenchurch, co. Oxford. In Metcalfe's *Knights* Sir Thomas Umpton was knighted when Anne Boleyn was crowned, and his arms are given with the chevrons argent.

2: Achievement. As 1, without impaling and crest, A covered cup.

3: UMPTON, impaling FETTIPLACE.

CHANCEL.

S. side. On top, RUSSELL, impaling quarterly, "Argent and gules with fret or, over all on a bend sable three escallops of the first," SPENCER. *Worcester Visitation*, 1569, Sir Thomas, may be Robert, of Strensham, married Alice, may be Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Spencer, of Yarnton, co. Oxford; he *ob.* 1632, she *ob.* 1618. Crest: A double plume of feathers, five in chief, alternately gules and azure, and the five in base azure and gules. In the middle, RUSSELL and crest and SPENCER with crest, Out of a ducal coronet or a griffin's head argent gorged with a bar gemel gules between two wings displayed of the second. Below, on each side, are seven shields containing the quarterings of Russell, as mentioned on the first 2 of RUSSELL.

S. wall. "? Azure, a cross flory or in chief a crescent for difference," WARD, Rev. Samuel, *ob.* 1705; rector thirty-five years. "Ermine on a chief indented sable three escallops or," TAYLOR, John, 1848. Crest: Demi lion rampant proper, semeé of escallops sable, holding between the paws a saltire of the last, surmounted by an escallop argent. Motto: "Fidelis que ad mortem."

Hatchments, W. side of Chancel Arch. 1: TAYLOR, as before. 2: ROYAL ARMS, with supporters couchant, query George IV. 3: TAYLOR; with escutcheon of pretence, "Sable a fess ermine between three estoiles or," SKEYE. this is also given as "Azure a fess engrailed ermine between three estoiles argent," impaling quarterly 1 and 4, "Sable a chevron between three pickaxes or millpecks argent," MOSELEY; 2, "quarterly per fess indented sable (query gules) and argent, in dexter chief a lion passant guardant or," query CROFT; 3, "Gules two lions passant argent between nine crosses croslet fitchy 3.3.3 or," ACTON, co. Salop. Mr. James Taylor, *ob.* 1852, married first Louisa, daughter and coheiress of Samuel Skeye, of Spring Grove, co. Worcester; and, secondly, Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Michael Moseley, of Buildwas, Salop.

NAVE.

S. wall. On lozenge: quarterly 1 and 4, "Barry wavy of six argent and gules," DANSEY; 2 and 3, RUSSELL, 1733. *See* Withers monument before.

The shields off the brasses are all gone, but there is a loose one in the vestry, which is "(Gules) a chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed argent armed or," BAYNHAM. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Baynham, married Robert Russell, Esq., *ob.* 1502.

The tiles in the nave floor are scattered about, several being duplicates, but the varieties of those heraldic are few, and include the following:—

1: "Tincture (azure), two keys in saltire (or and azure), surmounted by, or surmounting, a sword in pale, point downwards, metal (argent), hilted of the second," SS. Peter and Paul, Gloucester Bishopric.

2: What looks more like four shields within a bordure charged with crosses croslet; but one of them is ensigned with a mitre, and they could be relaid so as to form this coat. "Paly of six argent and gules (sable now) on a chevron azure (metal now) three crosses croslet ensigned with a mitre or," CARPENTER, Bishop of Worcester, 1444-76.

3: "Tincture (azure), a cross flory between four martlets, metal (or)," Edward the Confessor.

4: BERKELEY, with crosses patty.

PERSHORE ABBEY.

S. TRANSEPT.

E. wall. Gauntlet in fess holding sword erect proper enfiling a boar's head argent, HOWE crest.

Hatchment. "Azure three boars' heads couped close, 2 and 1 between ? nine crosses croslet argent," CRADDOCK.

Hatchment, S. wall. "Barry of six or and sable, in

chief a rose for difference," MARRIOTT; impaling, "Gules a fess between three boars' heads couped erminois," BECKETT. Crest: Talbot passant sable collared and chained or. Motto: "Virtute et fide." Lieut.-General Thomas Marriott, *ob.* 1847, married Anne, third daughter of Sir John Beckett, Bart.

Hatchment, W. wall and tomb. "Argent on a chevron between three owls sable, as many lozenges ermine," HASELWOOD; impaling, "Argent a fess, and in chief a mullet between two roundles sable," DYNELEY. Thomas Haselwood, of Wick Warren, near Pershore, *ob.* 1624. married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Dineley. "? Buck trippant between three cups or chalices," on each side the initials D. and S.

Hatchment. "Ermine on a fess gules a lion passant or," PROBYN; impaling, quarterly 1 and 4, "Gules three eagles' legs erased ? or," BUND; 2 and 3, "Azure a chevron ermine between three crosses croslet" (so I read it), really "trefoils argent," PARSONS. William Bund married Mary, daughter and heiress of John Parsons, of Overbury, co. Worcester; dimidiated with "Or on a chevron between three six-pointed mullets gules, a cross patty of the field," WILLIS. The Rev. William Probyn, vicar of Pershore, married Mary, granddaughter of the above William Bund, but as the Willis did not come in till much later, it really has no proper marshalling here.

There was a quarterly coat on a tablet impaling what might be Haselwood, which bore the incription, "Percival Haslam, 1814," but it was too defaced for me to be sure of the reading.

Hatchment, S. aisle, S. wall. "Or three bears' gambs erased 2 and 1, within bordure engrailed sable," BEDFORD; impaling, "Sable a chevron chequy or and gules between three cinquefoils argent, on a chief ermine a Catherine wheel of the third," query HOUSON. The Rev. W. K. Riland Bedford married Maria Amy, youngest daughter of Joseph Houson.

N. nave, W. end. Achievement. Quarterly, 1: HASELWOOD, as before. 2: "Argent a chevron between three squirrels sejant gules," LOVELL. According to Le Neve's *Knights*, p. 226, the animals are conies, and that Edmund, who possibly was great-grandfather of Fulk Haselwood, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Mr. Thomas Lovell. 3: In Nash's *Worcestershire Plate* this quartering is given as "Per pale or and argent a chevron counterchanged (!) between three fleurs de lys (? azure)." In *Rutland Visitation*, 1618, it is given as "Or on a chevron azure between three fleurs de lys sable as many bars gemelles . . ." ( ). But I suppose it must be taken to represent BILLINGTON, as Le Neve says the Billingtons bore "Per pale or and azure three fleurs de lys between a chevron charged with two bars gemel all counterchanged;" but he adds this is forged, where it is stated that Edmund Haselwood of Maydwell married . . . daughter and heiress of Jno. Billington of . . . ., as it is not known to be a Billington coat, and Edmund really married Jane Chauntrell. 4: In Nash, "Argent a chevron and in chief two trefoils slipped sable"; in *Rutland*, ". . . a chevron between in chief two trefoils and in base a fleur de lys sable," ( ). According to Le Neve's pedigree it looks as if 3 and 4 had been substituted for 3, "Argent on a canton gules an owl (? rose) of the field," BRADSTONE, as Bryan Haselwood married Ursula, daughter and heiress of John Bradstone; and 4, LAZENCROFT, given by Le Neve as "Argent a chevron sable between three blackbirds on a chief azure as many burstalks slipped on each the same number of burs or," which is the foundation of the modern Haselwood coat, their old arms being, he says, "Argent a chevron between three oak (really hazel) leaves vert." This last may possibly be the real 4. Impaling, quarterly of ten. 1: Nash says, "Argent two bars sable." I read it, "Barry of six argent and azure," as Fulk Hazelwood married, secondly, Dorothy Hungerford. This should be "Sable two bars argent, in chief three plates," HUNGERFORD. 2: Nash, "Per pale indented argent and sable (really gules

and vert) a chevron or," HEYTESBURY. Sir Walter Hungerford, Knt., married Maud, daughter and heiress of Sir John Heytesbury, Knt. 3: I read as blank, but Nash says, I think, ermine. This is not a usual quartering; most probably would be Peverell. 4: Nash says, and I read it the same, "Ermine two bars sable," really "Barry of six ermine and gules," HUSSEY. 5: Nash says, "Ermine a lion rampant within bordure sable," and I read it the same; but it is really "Ermine a lion rampant gules within bordure sable bezanty," CORNWALL. 6: Nash, "Argent two bars, and in chief three roundles sable," and I the same; it is really "Bars and roundles gules," MOELS. 7: Nash says, and I read it the same, "Sable a chevron or." No such quartering comes in in either Gloucestershire or Wiltshire quarterings, so it must remain a query. 8: Nash says, and I read it so, "Or three torteaux 2 and 1, and in chief a label of three points ? azure, COURTENAY. 9: Nash and I read it, "Argent a lion rampant sable within bordure gules"; lion generally crowned and bordure azure, BURNELL. 10: Nash says, and I read it, "Or a saltire engrailed sable," BOTETOURT. Esquire's helmet, but crest gone.

Gravestone. "(Argent) a cross raguly (gules)," LAWRENCE, Francis, 1733, on esquire's helmet on wreath. Crest: A demi fish, tail uppermost, couped and erect.

I am sorry to say that I had no more time to read the heraldry, so this is only part of what I suppose to be in the church.

DUMBLETON CHURCH.

Early in 1904 Mr. A. St. Aubyn Weston asked me to read the heraldry in Dumbleton Church, as he thought it was going shortly to be restored; so accompanied by Canon Bazeley in May I visited the church, and the following day I visited Didbrook Church, my notes on which I append.

NAVE.

N. wall. "Sable a chevron argent charged with baronet's escutcheon between three scalps and attires of the second," Sir Richard Cocks; impaling, "Gules on a saltire argent a rose of the first," NEVILL. Frances, *ob.* 1723, youngest daughter of Colonel Richard Nevill, of Billingbear, co. Berks, married Sir Richard Cocks, second baronet.

S. wall. Hatchment. Achievement of Charles Cocks, Esq., M.P., created baronet 1772, and Baron Evesham as Lord Somers in 1784, and died 1806. Tierce, 1: "Argent a fess gules between two bars gemel wavy azure," ELIOT. 2: Quarterly 1 and 4, as COCKS above; 2 and 3, "? Vert a fess dancetty ermine," SOMERS. 3: "Azure a lion rampant argent between seven fleurs de lys or," POLE; stands here for Pole-Carew, as Lord Somers married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Eliot, co. Cornwall, and sister of the first Lord Eliot; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of Reginald Pole-Carew, co. Devon; so this is an example of wrong marshalling, as the quarterly coat of the Cocks and Somers ought to be the baron impaling the two femmes. Crest: On a mount proper a stag lodged reguardant argent, a baron's coronet, and two supporters lions, ? ermine collared with the Somers coat. Motto: "Prodessi quam conspici."

Hatchment. COCKS as above, impaling "Gules two esquires' helmets in chief proper, and in base a garb or," CHOLMELEY. Sir Robert Cocks, fourth baronet, *ob.* 1765, married Elizabeth, second daughter of James Cholmeley, Esq., co. Lincoln.

Chancel Arch W., S. side. Hatchment. Quarterly 1, "Azure a lion rampant between eight fleurs de lys argent, over all a bend gules," HOLLAND; 2, "Argent a chevron gules between three water bougets sable," query Hill or Yarde; 3, "Gules a lion rampant argent between three crescents or," query Salisbury; 4, "Gules six bezants 3.2.1," ZOUCHE; 5, "Azure six lions rampant 3.2.1 or," query Longespee; 6, "Argent two bars azure within bordure engrailed sable," PARR; impaling, "Argent three bars gemel,

and in chief three lions rampant barways sable," Willett. I cannot find an example of these Holland quarterings or pedigree to prove 2 and 3 quarterings; but this hatchment must represent Swinton Colthurst Holland, of Dumbleton, as he married Anne, daughter of the Rev. William Willett, of Newcastle-under-Lyme; the fourth quartering (Zouche), generally ten bezants and a canton, implies the marriage of Baron Robert Holland, 1314, with Maud, daughter and coheiress of Alan le Zouche, of Ashby; and the fifth Sir Roger le Zouche's marriage with Ela, daughter and (?) heiress of Stephen Longespee; the sixth is given in Hunter's *Fam. Min. Gen.*, vol. i., p. 176, as William Holland, of Road, in the parish of Prestwich, *ob.* 1603, married Jane, daughter and heiress of . . . Parr, of Road, which Holland was of the Denton, Lancashire, family.

Chancel, N. Achievement. Quarterly 1 and 4, "? Or a lion rampant azure," Percy; 2 and 3, "Gules three lucies, 2 and 1 haurient argent," Lucie. Crest: On cap of dignity gules turned up ermine a lion statant (azure). Supporters: dexter, a lion rampant azure; sinister, a leopard (may be a lion) rampant guardant, ducally crowned or and collared (gobony argent and azure). Below, the above impaling Cocks, as before, without baronet's inescutcheon. Sir Charles Percy, Knt., third son of the Earl of Northumberland, buried July 9th, 1628, married Dorothy, *ob.* 1646, daughter of Thomas Cocks, of Cleeve, Esq.

E. end of S. aisle, by pulpit. On a lozenge: Cocks, as before, Miss Dorothy, *ob.* 1767.

DIDBROOK CHURCH.

N. side. Hatchment. Quarterly 1 and 4, "Sable on a fess between three elephants' heads erased argent as many mullets of the first," Pratt; 2 and 3, "Or two bends sinister gules in fess point, bendwise an escallop sable"

(really the escallop should be in chief and the bends dexter), TRACY; impaling, "Or on a fess azure a saltire throughout argent, between in chief a bull's head erased (Papworth 'couped'), and in base a lymphad with oars sable," RICHARDSON. Crest: An elephant's head erased argent. John Pratt, Esq., son of Lord Chief Justice Pratt, married, secondly, Dorothy, daughter, and I suppose heiress, of the Hon. Robert Tracy, of Coscomb, co. Gloucester, but I cannot find the Pratt-Richardson marriage.

S. side. Quarterly 1 and 4, "Argent a greyhound passant, and in chief a mullet sable for difference," HOLFORD; 2 and 3, "Azure a lion passant argent, on a chief indented (Papworth 'engrailed') or three mullets sable," STAYNER; impaling RICHARDSON as before, only the fess is gules. Crest: On mount a greyhound's head sable. Sir Richard Holford, Knt., married Elizabeth, daughter, and I suppose heiress, of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Stayner, but I cannot find this Holford-Richardson marriage.

I failed to see Bigland's Cornwall and King of the Romans' shields in E. window, and TRACY impaling DOWDESWELL, 1735.

EFFIGIES IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

By CANON BAZELEY and MARGARET LEY BAZELEY.

1901—1903.

GLOUCESTER RURAL DEANERY.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY,

FORMERLY THE CONVENTUAL CHURCH OF THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, GLOUCESTER.

I. Robert, Duke of Normandy.
(Carved about A.D. 1250.)

1.[1] Royal and military. Knight in armour.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Wood, Irish bog oak.

4. Life-size.

5. The duke wears a moustache. The body is protected by a hooded hawberk of mail reaching nearly to the knees. Over the coif de maille, which is fastened by a strap passing through the mail across the forehead and down the right side of the face, is a coronet ornamented with strawberry leaves and fleur de lys, but not arched. The mail is not shown on the top of the head. Over the hawberk is worn a sleeveless surcoat, open in front from the loins downwards. This is now painted red, and is plain. The guige, or strap for supporting the shield, crosses the right shoulder and passes toward the left arm. The end of the strap is broken. There is no trace of the shield. The duke grasps with his right hand the handle of a long sword, which lies on the left side of the

[1] This and the following numbers represent the questions, 1—15, asked in a schedule and given in the *Transactions*, vol. xxv., p. 149.

body. The sword appears as though partly drawn out of the scabbard. The sword-belt crosses the body from the right hip to the left thigh, and is affixed to the sheath. The thighs and knees are clothed in tight-fitting breeches of cloth or leather. On the heels are spurs fastened by a leather strap. The original prick-spurs are gone. The legs are crossed at the thighs, the right leg being above the left.

6. Under the head is a cushion.

7. There is nothing at the feet.

8. The effigy rests on an oblong wooden box of late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century workmanship. It probably superseded the sarcophagus in which the body of Duke Robert rested for awhile in front of the high altar. Around the upper edge of the box is a frieze of narrow-pointed leaves and round flowers with a seed in the centre. On the sides and ends of the box are ten shields with coats of arms disgracefully repainted. Nine of these are said to be the attributive bearings of the nine champions of the world: (1) Hector, (2) Julius Cæsar, (3) David, (4) King Arthur, (5) Edward the Confessor, (6) Alexander the Great, (7) Judas Maccabæus, (8) Charlemagne, (9) Godfrey de Bouillon.

The bearings, which in some cases it is difficult to describe heraldically, are as follows, beginning with the dexter side:— 1. *Gules, a spear between two lions combatant or.* 2. *Or, a double-headed eagle displayed sable, beaked gules.* 3. *Azure, a harp or.* 4. *Gules, three crowns or.* 6. On the sinister side: *Gules, a lion sejant in a chair holding a battle-axe or.* 7. *Or, three ravens in pale sable, beaked and legged gules.* 8. *Or, an eagle displayed sable, dimidiated with azure, semée de lys or.* 9. *Azure, a cross fleury de lys between on the dexter side two wreaths and on the sinister side, issuing from the fess-point, two staves fleury de lys or.* 10. *France and England quarterly.*

In the Lansdown MS. 874 in the British Museum is an etching by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald 1610, of this effigy and box. It differs from the above description in the following points:—On the breast of the surcoat are two lions, or. The sword lies diagonally across the body. No shield

R. W. DUGDALE, Photo.

ABBOT SERLO.

or shield strap is visible. There are rowell-spurs on the heels, unlike the present ones. The arms differ as follows: 1. *Gules a pile azure between two lions rampant or.* 2. No tinctures are given. 9. *Per pale azure and gules, a cross fleury de lys or between on the dexter side a wreath and a crown vert, on the sinister side two fleur de lys or.*

10. The effigy and box are painted as above. On the door is "W^m. Davidson pinx^t 1791."

11. During the Civil War the effigy was broken in pieces and sold to Sir Humphry Tracy, of Stanway. At the Restoration it was mended and replaced in the cathedral.

12. The effigy is at present confined in an iron cage, and is locked up for additional security in Abbot Boteler's Chapel. N.B.—The cage has been since removed. W. B., 1905.

13. It is described in Leland's *Itinerary*. See also *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii., pp. 252, 253; vol. xiv., p. 238, &c.; *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, vol. i., pp. 99–101, &c.

14. It is illustrated in Lansdown MS. 874; Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, &c.

15. The style of the armour has led later writers to attribute the date of the effigy to the reign of Henry III. The figure is very similar to an effigy of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, found at Hayles Abbey in 1900, if we may judge from the fragments. The crown with its strawberry leaves and fleurs de lys is similar to that which was introduced by Henry IV.; it has no arch or Maltese crosses such as appear in later royal crowns. If a new ducal crown had been made for the effigy, as is supposed, after the Restoration it would have had eight strawberry leaves only. It would seem from an inscription in the Chapter House, "HIC JACET ROBERTUS CURTUS," that the body of Duke Robert was removed from the presbytery and buried in the Chapter House long after the dissolution of St. Peter's Abbey.

II. ? Abbot Serlo. (Carved about A.D. 1250.)

1. Ecclesiastical. Abbot vested as a priest with the addition of a pastoral staff, &c.

2. Recumbent effigy on a bracket.

3. Oolite.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure is bareheaded and tonsured, with stiff, curly hair and beard and large, prominent ears. The face is very flat.

Costume.—Amice, with stiff apparel and folded linen; alb, falling to the feet in five folds. No apparel is visible on the lower hem. The sleeves of the alb are hidden by the chasuble. Stole gradually widening to two inches at the bottom is narrower than the maniple. Chasuble, of the usual form falling to within about eight inches of the feet. Pastoral staff, without sudarium, pointed at the base, the top part broken off. On the feet are sandals and pointed shoes. In the right hand, resting on the breast, is the figure of an Early English church with pointed gabled roofs, narrow lower lights and trefoils above. The eyes are open.

6. The head rests on a cushion with tassels.

7. There were originally two figures with hoods and long robes with very full sleeves leaning against the soles of the abbot's feet. One is very much mutilated. The remaining one at the left foot of the abbot may be a monk, as suggested by Haines, or possibly a nun. The right hand rests against the cheek, and the left hand appears to support the base of the canopy.

8. The figure lies on a slab within a triple canopy. Beneath the slab is a bracket, with similar moulding to the fourteenth-century veiling or casing of the presbytery. The figure and canopy are carved out of one stone, which would seem to have originally formed the coped lid of a coffin.

The arch of the canopy immediately above the head of the abbot is cinquefoiled, and is supported by shafts with capitals. The shaft on the right side of the abbot remains intact; on the left side it has been cut away by the builders to form the roll of a moulding. The lower arch terminates near the brow of the abbot in

two diminutive heads, one of which has the characteristic heavy curled locks of the Edwardian period, such as appear on the effigy of Edward II.; the other head may possibly be a woman's. Below these heads were two foliated bosses, one of which remains on the left side of the abbot's face. The foliage represents maple leaves, and is of the character we find in Decorated architecture, natural, not conventional. There is no deep undercutting, such as we find in Early English work. Above this arch is another arch with straight sides beautifully crocketed, with a trefoil in the spandrel. The finial of this arch has been ruthlessly cut off. The natural foliage, the Edwardian mode of wearing the hair, and the crocket work belong to the latter part of the thirteenth century; so I am inclined to assign a date not earlier than 1280 to the upper part of the monument. On either side of the canopy arches is tracery with a circular hollow, out of which appears to rise an angel with wings, having curly hair confined by a fillet, and long robes with circular openings at the neck. The top of the slab with part of the canopy is said to have been cut off to make room for the older bishop's throne, now in the nave. The lower part is inserted in the moulding of the wall casing.

9. Leland[1] says "Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, lyeth under a fayre marble Tombe on the South syde of the Presbitery." Fosbrooke also gives a view of the monument as a vignette on the title-page of his *History of Gloucester*. It is there described as the tomb of Aldred.

Councel, p. 132, says: "On the south side of the choir is a shelf monument for Bishop Aldred, of Worcester, who built the old church; his effigy is carved in freestone on the tomb."

In Haines' *Guide to the Cathedral* it is spoken of as the "mutilated effigy of an abbot, without mitre, holding church with pastoral staff on left side, two monks at feet and two angels in pediments of a triple canopy placed horizontally. Probably the monument of Henry Foliot (abbot 1228–43,

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiv., p. 239.

in whose time the church was rededicated), and placed on a bracket by Abbot Parker.

We are inclined unreservedly to accept Leland's testimony,[1] founded on the report of the monks of St. Peter, with whom he conversed, that this figure represents Serlo, the great Norman abbot, who rebuilt the eastern limb of the church from its foundations in 1089—1100.[2] It is probable that the coffin containing Serlo, with the "Decorated" effigy of the abbot on the lid, lay under one of the arches between two round pillars on the south side of the presbytery, and that when Abbot Horton (1351–77) veiled the east end of the church with Perpendicular stonework he prepared the bracket and moulded the coffin lid to fit it. The bones of Serlo probably lie below the floor in the ambulatory. The bracket so closely resembles the rest of Horton's work that we cannot believe that it was executed at any other time, certainly not in the sixteenth century by Abbot Parker.

It is ridiculous to suppose that the monks in the time of Edward I. would have carved an effigy of Abbot Foliot as a founder of the abbey because some sixty years before their time during his rule the abbey was rededicated,[3] or because the vaulting of the nave was completed.[4] Nor is it likely that for these reasons the gifted Perpendicular builders of the time of the third Edward would have altered the construction of the south wall of the presbytery and have given Foliot such a place of honour as the figure now occupies.

With regard to Aldred, if it be true what the historian relates, that he rebuilt the church from its foundations and rededicated it to Saint Peter,[5] then this Saxon Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York certainly deserves some monument at Gloucester. But he was buried in his minster of York (1067) and not at Gloucester, so his effigy would not

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch Soc*, vol. xiv., p.

[2] *Hist et Cart. Mon. S. Petri, Glouc.*, vol. i., p. 12.

[3] *Id.*, vol. i., p. 28, Sept. 18, 1239.

[4] *Id*, vol. i., p. 29, A.D. 1242.

[5] *Id*, vol. i., p. 9.

have been carved on a coffin lid. Moreover, he would have been represented as an archbishop, and not merely as a priest with a pastoral staff.

10. The effigy shows signs of painting: the chasuble was certainly blue.

11. The pastoral staff, the shaft, &c., of the canopy on the abbot's left side, one of the angels at the head, and one of the monks at the feet have been broken off.

12. The effigy rests on a bracket affixed to the south wall of the presbytery. (See 9, above.)

13. This effigy is illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. x., p. 59. It is illustrated in Fosbrooke (see titie-page), and illustrated and described in Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 68 and title-page. It is also referred to in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii., p. 70.

14. Condition fairly good.

15. Serlo was educated in the Norman Abbey of Bex, and was chaplain to William the Conqueror. He was made Abbot of Gloucester in 1072, and finding Aldred's church still incomplete and ready to fall, and the monastery greatly impoverished, he prevailed on the king and many of his Norman nobles to assist him in rebuilding the church and adding greatly to its endowments. Enough of the church was completed in 1100 to warrant its dedication by Sampson, Bishop of Worcester.

Serlo died in 1104. Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeys*, says Serlo was buried under a marble tomb on the south side of the presbytery; he is doubtlessly right, but he only follows Leland.

III. Edward II. (Carved about 1350.)

1. Regal.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Alabaster.
4. Life-size.

5. The king is bare-headed, with the heavy side-locks peculiar to the times of the three Edwards. Around the head is a jewelled coronet, adorned with strawberry-leaves. The king wears a tunic, of which only the sleeves appear, these being tight to the arm. Over this is a long, flowing robe with sleeves of surplice shape, cut square at the neck and reaching to the ankles. The robe has pocket-holes or slashes at the sides, through which straps appear. Over the robe is thrown a regal mantle or pall, on which the figure reclines. His right hand grasps a sceptre, the head of which is fairly perfect; his left hand holds an orb. His feet are encased in pointed shoes, which have no apparent fastening.

6. Two pillows with mutilated tassels. The upper pillow is supported by two angels, seated, with flowing curly hair encircled by a band, wings, long robes, and bare feet.

7. A lion, which looks back at the king.

8. The lower part of the exquisite tomb, on which the figure rests, has a series of ogee-arched recesses, cinquefoiled with crocketed heads. These recesses or niches originally held twenty-eight statuettes. Above this the canopy consists of two stages of ogee-headed arches, interfoliated and crocketed, and surmounted by finials with buttresses placed diagonally, and terminating in pinnacles. A bracket at the north side of the tomb seems to be a hundred years later than the rest of the tomb. It was used for the offerings of the pilgrims.

9. "E. II 1327," at the east end. (Edward II., 1307–27.)

10. On each of the pillars of the presbytery, adjoining the tomb, is a frieze of six white harts ducally chained and gorged, on a brown ground.[1] There is no other painting except the letters.

11. Three fingers of the right hand are missing; the strawberry leaves of the crown are most of them broken; the lower part of the sceptre is mutilated; the upper part

[1] See *Records of Glouc. Cath.*, vol. i., p. 102, and *Hist. et Cart. Mon. S. Pet Glouc.*, vol. i., p. lx.

of the monument has been restored by Oriel College, Oxford, which claims the king as its founder.

12. Within the third bay westwards, on the north side of the presbytery.

13. Illustrated in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 125. Described very indifferently in *Arch. Journal*, vol. xvii., p. 297. ? Illustrated by Carter in 1809. (See *M. of G. L.*, vol. i., p. 273.) Described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii , p. 254.

14. See above, 11.

15. Edward II. was murdered at Berkeley Castle on September 21st, 1327. His body was brought to Gloucester a few days later by Abbot Thokey. The following notes are taken from Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i.:—

"In the custody of the Deane and Chapter of Glouc. is a faire manus[t] Chronicle summarily collected by Walter Frocester, a monke in the Abbey of Glouc. living at this time within fifteen miles of Berkeley, after Abbot of that monastery, deduced down by him to the twentyeth year of Kinge Eduard the third, who writeth thus, viz[t]:—

"'Eduard the second, sonne of Eduard, began his raigne in the year 1307, in the 19th whereof hee was dekinged; Taken at Neath Castle in West Wales, but brought to bee kept at Kenellworth, And the third of the nones of Aprill, was translated from Kenellworth to Berkeley Castle, where when many conspired for his delivery About the feast of St Matthewe the Evangelist was most . . . wickedly murdered, and buryed in the Church of St Peter here with us at Glouc[r]'; And in another place thus:—

"'*Et post mortem prædicti regis, &c.* And after the death of the said kinge, his venerable body (which the next monasteries of St Augustine of Bristol, St Mary of Kingswood, and St Aldelme of Malmesbury, for dread of Roger de Mortimer and Queene Isable and theire complices feared to receive), was by John Toky then Abbot of this Church of blessed S[t] Peter of Gloucester with his chariot honorably adorned with the arms of the sd. church brought from the

Castle of Berkeley to the Church of the said Monastery of Glouc.; And by the whole Convent solemnly attired was with the procession of the whole City honorably received and in the North part of the Church there neere to the great Altar, buryed. (See *Hist. S. Pet.* I., 44.) This Abbot Toky, mine author succeeded, then a monke there, and present at his funerall, of which Abbot, then a very old man, and of the benefitts hee received from the sonne for this honor done to his fathers body, the marginald record declareth."

"The Accompt of this said lord's Receiver (William Aside, Receiver to Lord Berkeley) for the yeere following in the second of Eduard the third sheweth what hee paid for dyinge of the white canvas black for coveringe the chariot wherein the body of the Kinge was carryed from Berkeley Castle to Glouc.: what the cords, the horse collars, the traces, and other necessaries perticularly cost, used about the Chariot, and conveyinge of his body thence to Gloucester . . . for a silver vessel to put the king's hart in 37*s.* 08*d.* In oblations at severall times in the Chapple of the Castle of Berkeley for the kings soule 21*d.* In expenses of the Lord Berkeleys familiy goinge with the king's body from Berkeley to Glouc. 18*s.* 09*d.*"

IV. UNKNOWN KNIGHT. (Carved about A.D. 1410.)

1. Military.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.

5. A bascinet encircled with an orle, *i.e.* a wreath or padded roll, to lighten the pressure of the tilting helmet.

A moustache. To the bascinet is attached by a lace or chain passing through the rim the camail. Round the neck a collar of SS with pendant. Instead of a jupon are breast and back-plates, over which, it may be, is a padded sleeveless jerkin, for there are no signs

of connecting straps or hinges. To these is attached a skirt of six taces not overlapping, with buckles on the left side and a hinge on the right. This reaches to the middle of the thigh. Beneath the skirt is seen a fringe or edging of mail. The arm is protected by epaulières of three plates, by brassarts with straps inside, by fan-shaped elbow pieces with roundels, wrist-plates fastened by a strap round the arm, and gauntlets. There are gussets of mail at the armpits. Round the hips is a belt of about twenty square pieces; on the central piece is a shield bearing a cross, on which some have imagined there is a leopard's head erased—the arms of Bridges of Coberley. To the belt was attached a sword in its scabbard, the central part of which alone remains. The legs are protected by cuisses, genouillières with roundels at the sides, jambs with straps, and sollarets with gussets of mail on the insteps and straps. The eyes of the figure are open.

Notes on the S S collar, with a drawing, will be found in *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, vol. i., p. 113.

6. The body reclines on a mattress, the head resting on a tilting helm with a horse's head as a crest, and a mantle with tassels. The hands are folded as though in prayer.

7. At the feet is a lion.

8. The canopied tomb has an ogee arch with foliated crockets and finial. It is panelled at the sides and back and has a vaulted roof without bosses at the intersections, like the roof of the south transept. On either side of the arch is a canopied niche for a statue of a saint. Above the arch is a cornice ornamented with single and double roses and oak-leaves.

9. There is no inscription. The county historians attribute this effigy to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who died in 1372, but he was buried at the Abbey of Walden. Moreover, the skirt of taces, of which we have an example here, does not appear until the first decade of the fifteenth century, and the S S collar was instituted by Henry IV. as a Lancastrian badge. The late Canon Lysons

fancied that he could detect a leopard's head in the middle of the cross on the buckle of the knight's belt, and as *argent, on a cross sable a leopard's head or* was the heraldic bearing of the Bridges family of Coberley, he conjectured that this figure represented one of them. Thereupon he attributed it to Sir John Bridges, who fought at Agincourt, and died in 1437. But no example of the camail or tippet of mail has been found later than 1410. Moreover, there are certainly no traces of a leopard's head or any other bearing on the cross at present. It would appear, therefore, that some other Gloucestershire knight has to be found who, with his lady, wore the Lancastrian badge of the S S collar, who bore this crest of a horse's head, and who died in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

10. There are no traces of painting, gilding, or gesso decoration.

11. The fingers and nose are mutilated and nearly all the sword is gone.

12. On the south wall of the nave opposite the eastern-most bay of the south arcade. The effigy is said by some county historians to have been brought from Llanthony Priory, but the apparent date of the tomb coincides with that of the effigy.

13. Described in *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, vol. i., p. 116, and in Britton's *History of Gloucester*, p. 72; engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. i., pl. lxv., p. 195, and in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol. ed., p. 127.

14. See under 11.

V. UNKNOWN LADY. (About A.D. 1410.)

1. Lady.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Stone of a lighter colour than the accompanying effigy.

4. Life-size.

5. Flowing hair encircled by an orle with diagonal ornamentation, a collar of S S much smaller than her lord's, but with similar pendant. Neck bare. Tunic cut straight across the neck. An ornament runs down the front of the tunic similar to the belt of her lord. The tunic, although tightly fitting the chest, hangs in folds below. No seam is visible. A mantle lies open without any fastening, partly covering her upper arms. The shoes are very pointed.

6. Under the head are two cushions, one round and the other square.

7. Under the feet, a pet dog with a jewelled collar.

8. See above, under knight.

9. No inscription.

10. No painting, &c.

11. Nose, and arms below the elbow are gone.

12. See above.

13. See above.

Note.—At first sight the difference in the colour of the stone suggests that these two effigies do not belong to one another; but the collar of S S, the two orles, and the similarity of the ornamentation of the lady's tunic to that of the knight's belt are proofs of the close connection of the two persons.

VI. Abbot Seabrook, a.d. 1457.

1. Ecclesiastical (*a*) mitred abbot.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Alabaster.

4. Life-size.

5. The abbot wears the following vestments:—A mitre (*mitra pretiosa*), the front horn of which is sadly mutilated, it has jewels round the edges and a jewelled ornament in front, an alb extending to the feet, a maniple and fringed stole, a tunic and dalmatic. Over all is a chasuble, very full and long. Between the right arm and the right breast is the

pastoral staff, enveloped in a vexillum or banner of the cross. The shoes are plain and very pointed. The hands, which were folded on the chest, and the wrists have been broken off.

6. Under the head are two round cushions, the upper one with buttons and the lower one with tassels. These are supported by winged angels with long flowing albs fastened on the chest with a diamond-shaped fibula or brooch. They also wear amices.

7. At the feet is a lion.

8. The effigy lies on an altar-tomb in a recess constructed in the wall of a chapel. The recess has a wide arch decorated with cinquefoils, and a vaulted roof or ceiling ornamented with quatrefoils. The walls, on either side and above, are panelled. Above the arch are five panels containing sexfoils with spandrels and a battlemented cornice. The mutilated altar and reredos of the chapel remain, together with five canopied niches for saints and a vaulted ceiling ornamented with sexfoils. On the south side of the chapel is a piscina, and above the canopied ceiling of the altar is a frieze with lions and quatrefoil flowers. A doorway leads into the chapel from the sacrist's room.

9. There is no inscription. Thomas Seabrook, Abbot of St. Peter's, 1450-57.

10. There are no traces of painting, &c.

11. The heads of the angels, the lion's face, the abbot's hands and wrists, and the upper part of the pastoral staff have been broken off. The nose of the figure has been mutilated.

12. The chapel in which the effigy lies is below the organ loft. The effigy has been replaced in its original position. For a time it was wrongly placed above the base of the altar.

13. This effigy is illustrated in Fosbrooke and in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 60. It is described in *Transactions*, vol. xiii., 254, and in Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 73.

14. See 11, above.

15. Thomas Seabrook succeeded Reginald Botiler as abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in 1450. He took down the upper part of the Norman tower, and possibly also a spire which had been added to it by Helias, the sacrist, *c.* 1230, and began the building of the present tower, which is the glory of our Severn land. He died, however, in 1457, before it was finished; and Robert Tully, a monk of St. Peter's, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, completed it. (See *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, vol. ii., 128, 9.) The presbytery was repaved with tiles in Seabrook's time, and some bear his arms—*ermine a cinquefoil sable*. It is stated in the *Monasticon* that when Bishop Benson repaired the choir in 1741 Abbot Seabrook's coffin was opened. A pastoral staff which lay on the body was removed and very improperly given away by one of the prebendaries of the cathedral. It is now in the custody of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. (See Haines' *Guide*, pp. 88, 89.)

VII. Osric, King of the Northumbrians.
(Carved about A.D. 1530.)

1. Regal. Osric, King of the Northumbrians.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone, oolite.
4. Life-size.

5. The king has long, flowing hair and beard, but no moustache or whiskers. On his head is a high crown, ornamented with crosses and fleurs de lys with little trefoils between; the crown is jewelled, having large stones and two small ones alternately. He wears a tunic, the sleeves of which only appear, and a long, flowing robe with wide sleeves, fastened with a cord and tassels, the lower part of which lies on his waist. The robe extends to the feet; the shoes are broad-toed; a fur tippet and collar, the former with inverted border, cover his neck and chest. In his right hand is part of a mutilated sceptre or shaft, the base of

which remains. In his left hand is the model of a church with low, square central tower (with four round-headed lights on three sides), nave, and two transepts. The nave has a large doorway, and two small windows at the west end, each of two lights; the transepts have each four windows on the west side, and a large doorway and two windows at the end.

6. The head rests on a cushion with large tassels, supported by two winged angels wearing a monk's gown and hood with a cord at the waist, over which the gown is pulled up. On their heads are fillets rising to what appears to be a broken cross on the brow.

7. There is a lion at the feet.

8. The altar-tomb on which the figure rests has on each side six square compartments with inner squares set diagonally; these are foliated, and in the centre is a late Tudor shield with no carving or painting. Above the figure is a Tudor canopy with foliated groining, containing eight shields similar to those below. In the foliated spandrels on the north side are—(1) Abbot Parker's arms, *a stag between three phœons*, and (2) *a cross between four lions rampant*, attributed to Northumbria. On the south side are—(1) Abbot Parker's arms as before, and (2) the arms of St. Peter's Abbey. Above the canopy are a frieze of leaves, six pinnacles and upright leaves.

9. The inscription on the pillar at the east end of the tomb is: "Osricvs Rex . . . Hujus Monasterii." The words "primus fundator" have become obliterated. Osric, King of the Northumbrians from 718—729.

10. There are no remains of gilding or gesso decoration. The letters of the inscription are painted.

11. The left foot has been broken off and mended; the angel on the left side has lost its head; the effigy has lost two finger-tips from the right hand and the tip of its nose.

12. The effigy lies in the presbytery, on the north side of the high altar.

13. Illustrated and described in Fosbrooke, title-page

and p. 127, and in Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, pl. xxii. and p. 66. It is also described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii., p. 258.

14. The monument is in good condition.

15. Osric was the son of Alchfrid, a prince of Northumbria, and of Kyneburh, daughter of the Mercian king Penda. Bede tells us that Alchfrid, who was one of the sons of Oswy, shared the responsibilities of kingly rule with his father, and was an earnest supporter of St. Wilfrid, in opposition to Colman, the disciple of Columba and St. Patrick. As "Rex" in 664 Alchfrid bestowed Ripon, with the land of forty families, on St. Wilfrid, and he sent him to France to be consecrated Bishop of the Northumbrians.[1] But later on, as Bede tells, Alchfrid caused trouble to his father. In the churchyard at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, there is the tall shaft of a memorial cross set up in 670, and on it the figure of a man, and over the figure these two inscriptions: "✠ This thin token of victory Hwætred Wothgar Olwfwolthu set up in Memory of Alchfrith once King and son of Oswy ✠ Pray for the high sin of his soul." And these two inscriptions tell all that we know about the end of Alchfrid, who was evidently dead in 670.[2] When Oswy died in 670 Ecgfrith, another son, succeeded him.

Alchfrid had five children — Osric, Oswald, Oshere, Kyneburh, and Eadburh—who were probably brought up at the court of their uncles, Wulfhere and Ethelred. The latter had married a daughter of Oswy, so that his wife was their paternal aunt. On Ethelred's succession in 675, he seems to have made Osric "Rex" or Viceroy of the Hwiccas, a people inhabiting what is now Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and he very generously placed many of the crown possessions of Mercia at his disposal for the endowment of the infant church of the Severn Vale. Osric founded a bishopric at Worcester, and monasteries

[1] Bede, *H. E.*, book iii , § 227.

[2] *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, by the Bishop of Bristol, p 203.

at Bath, Gloucester, and Pershore. He made his sister, Kyneburh, Abbess of Gloucester. She died in 710, after a rule of twenty-nine years, and was buried in front of the Altar of St. Petronilla in the church of the abbey. Oswald, his brother, became Abbot of Pershore. About 685 Osric was summoned to Northumbria to assist his uncle Aldfrid as king, and his other brother, Oshere, became Viceroy of the Hwiccas in his place. After the death of Aldfrid in 705, Osric seems to have acted as regent of Northumbria during the reign of his young cousin, Osred. Osred was murdered in 717, and a year later, after the brief misrule of Cœnrad, Osric became King of the Northumbrians, and reigned till his death in 729, when he must have been about 75 years old.

Doubts have been raised of late as to the identity of Osric, Viceroy of the Hwiccas, with Osric, King of Northumbria; but the monks of Gloucester had no such doubts. Abbot Parker placed the attributive arms of the kingdom of Northumbria, three lions in pale, on the tomb of him whom he describes as "Osricus rex primus fundator hujus monasterii 681." The *History of St. Peter's Abbey* tells us that Kyneburh died nineteen years before her brother, and that Osric died in the twelfth year of his reign as King of Northumbria, and was buried near his sister in front of the Altar of St. Petronilla in the Abbey Church of Gloucester.

For many years after the destruction of St. Petronilla's Chapel the body of Osric rested in the Lady Chapel. It was not until the days of the last abbot, William Parker, that a place was found for Osric as founder on the north side of the high altar in the presbytery, and a chantry chapel was constructed for his tomb.

The effigy is rudely carved, perhaps in imitation of an earlier figure. The church on his breast is certainly intended to represent a church more like Serlo's at the beginning of the eleventh century than what the "Perpendicular" builders of the fifteenth century left as a heritage to Abbot Parker and to us.

VIII. William Parker, Abbot of Gloucester.
(Carved about A.D. 1535.)

1. Ecclesiastical.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Alabaster.
4. Life-size.
5. The figure is vested in full pontificals—*mitra pretiosa*, amice, alb quite plain, reaching to the feet; tunic, open on the left side, but not apparently on the right; dalmatic, open on both sides; chasuble. The tunic and dalmatic have been painted at the bottom edges to represent a fringe; the dalmatic has been painted at the side edges as well as at the bottom. The feet are encased in square-toed shoes. Below the right arm is the pastoral staff, the head ornamented with Gothic tracery and figures of abbots with mitre and staff. A vexillum is wrapped round the staff. On the right foot are the remains of a buskin. Over the left arm hangs the maniple.
6. Under the head are two pillows; the upper one is supported by two winged angels with amice and alb.
7. At the feet is the abbot's crest—a buck.
8. The effigy lies on an altar-tomb, which has three panels and four niches for statuettes on either side, and a panel and two niches at the bottom end. In the middle panel on each side are Abbot Parker's arms: *Sable, a buck trippant argent between three pheons or, within a bordure engrailed of the second.* The two remaining panels on each side contain the symbols of the Passion: (1) a ladder, scourging post, scourge and spear with sponge; (2) a heart between two hands and two feet pierced. The scourge is wanting on the left side. In the friezes above are the Tudor rose, the pomegranate, a lion's head, oak leaves, fleur de lys, and the initials "W. M." At the end of the tomb is a cross formed from a tree, with the branches roughly lopped off near their base. At the head the Norman pillar has been mutilated to receive the effigy, and the abbot's arms are placed here surmounted

by a mitre. The effigy lies in a late Gothic chapel, at the east end of which are the remains of an altar. The floor is paved with tiles, on some of which appear (1) *a buck trippant within a square with oak leaves in the spandrels:* (2) the arms of the Abbey of St. Peter:—*two keys in saltire and a sword in pale, handle in base:* (3) the arms of Abbot Parker as before. There are other tiles with inscriptions similar to these in the Lady Chapel which have been brought from Llanthony Priory.

9. No inscription. William Parker, *alias* Malvern, Abbot 1514–39.

10. There are remains of painting on the fringe of the tunic and dalmatic.

11. The angels' heads are gone. One of the tassels, the horns of the buck, the lower part of the maniple, and the hands have been broken off.

12. The effigy lies in a chapel on the north side of the presbytery.

13. It is illustrated in Fosbrooke and described in Rudder, p. 175, and in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 60, and vol. xiii., p. 256.

14. Very good.

15. William Parker, called also Malvern, either because he or his ancestors had some connection with the Priory of Great Malvern, or because they served as parkers in Malvern Chase, was Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, from 1514–39. His name appears in a list of the monks of St. Peter's in 1510 and in 1514; he was master of the works, or chief architect. He was elected abbot on May 14th in that year. As St. Peter's was a mitred abbey the abbot was entitled to a seat in the House of Lords, and William Parker was summoned by the king to meet him in Parliament on the 23rd November. He took part in later years in the debates in Parliament and Convocation on the king's divorce, the repudiation of the pope's supremacy, the surrender of the clergy, and the dissolution of the monasteries. He sat in Parliament for the last time on June 28th, 1539. When the abbey was surrendered on January 4th, 1540, Parker was

not present. That sad duty was performed by the prior and thirteen monks.

Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeys*, speaks of him as contumacious, and thereby losing his pension and the chance of a bishopric. But a manuscript note found in a book belonging to his great-great-nephew asserts that the king promised him the bishopric of Gloucester, but that he died before the appointment could be made. There is a time-worn, weather-beaten effigy of a priest in Notgrove churchyard which is said by tradition to have covered the abbot's grave in the church. Others have thought that he was buried in North-leach Church, where many of his kinsmen rest. There are two broken croziers built into the wall of the choir of this church which may have some reference to the sacred office he held and lost. At all events, he does not appear to have been buried in the stately tomb which he prepared for himself in his life-time. Two Elizabethan bishops—probably Richard Cheiney, who died in 1579, and John Bullingham, who died in 1598—are said to lie there. The pomegranate, the badge of Queen Katherine, would lead us to suppose either that the tomb was built before her divorce in 1533, or that Parker wished to show honour to her when she was no longer acknowledged by Henry VIII. as his queen.

IX. Richard Pates, 1588.

Under the south window of the south transept is a monument supported by columns, on which are the figures of a man kneeling, in the dress of an Elizabethan lawyer, with a child behind him, and of a woman, also kneeling, with three children behind her.

These figures have been allowed well-nigh to perish, and are scarcely discernible. They represent Richard Pates, the founder of the Cheltenham Grammar School, who died in 1588, aged 73; his wife, and children.

Over his head are the following arms: *Arg. a chevron sable between three pellets: on a chief of the first three crosses patée, fitché of the second.*

X. GODFREY GOLDSBOROUGH, Bishop of Gloucester A.D. 1604.

1. Ecclesiastical. Bishop Goldsborough.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Stone, painted oolite.

4. Life-size.

5. The figure wears the dress of an Elizabethan bishop—a rochet which is seen at the neck, over this a chimere, and lawn sleeves fastened at the wrist with black ribbon; above all a scarf round the neck and falling to within nine inches of the feet. The collar of the chimere is turned back over the scarf. Above this is a ruff with a band, and on the head is a skull-cap with flaps over the ears. The figure wears a full beard, whiskers, and moustache. The eyes are open. The shoes have square toes and thick soles, and are partly covered by the folds of the chimere.

6. Under the head is a cushion with four tassels.

7. Nothing.

8. The figure rests on an altar-tomb 3 ft. 6 in. high. divided in three panels on each side and one at the end, Every panel is ornamented with scroll-work. In the central panel on each side is a shield bearing *or, three chevrons gules;* on the middle, *chevron a bishop's mitre of the first;* at the foot of the tomb are quarterly, 1 and 4, *azure a cross fleury argent;* 2 and 3, *or, three chevrons sable* in fesse point on a cinquefoil counterchanged *a crescent argent.* In each of the other panels is a semi-oval. The edge of the slab is ornamented with bars and pellets alternately. At the back of the bishop's head is a monumental tablet ornamented with scroll-work and human heads. The architrave is supported by two Corinthian pillars, and above all is a shield, within a circle, with the same arms as are on the side of the tomb impaling the arms which appear at the end of the tomb. Obelisks rise from brackets on either side of the inscription, and there is one at the apex of the monument.

9. See Rudder, p. 157.

10. The face and hands are painted flesh-colour, the cap and vestments black, the pillow and sleeves white.

11. There are several chips in the scarf, and two finger-tips are missing.

12. The effigy lies in the chapel of St. Petronilla on the south side of the Lady Chapel below the minstrel's gallery.

13. It is described in Rudder, p. 157, and Fosbrooke, p. 127, and illustrated in Fosbrooke; described in *Transactions*, vol. xiii., p. 257.

14. The monument is in excellent condition.

15. "Godfrey Goldsborough, D.D., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Worcester, Rector of Stockton, Archdeacon of Salop, Prebendary of London, Hereford and Worcester, the last of which he held 'in commendam' with this See, became Bishop of Gloucester in 1598. He was consecrated at Lambeth on November 12th of that year, and governed until his death on the 26th of May, 1604."[1]

XI. Thomas and Christian Machen, a.d. 1614-15.

1. Civilian. Mayor of Gloucester, in gown of office.

2. Kneeling effigy.

3. Stone, painted.

4. Life-size.

5. Bare-headed. Ruff of three folds. Black velvet doublet, padded and ornamented, with buttons in front, reaching below the waist; sleeves also padded, with a small frill at the wrist. Breeches of black velvet, known as trunk hose, tied with black ribbon bow with Vandycked edge. Over all a robe of scarlet cloth with short sleeves, edged with fur; the robe turns back in front, showing a lining of wide fur; the back of the sleeve opening is slashed, and lined with fur.

8. The mayor and his wife kneel, facing one another, on either side of a reading-desk, on which lie two books. Above them is a horizontal canopy supported by two Corinthian pillars, and between two semicircular-headed arches stands

[1] Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 36.

the figure of Time with broken scythe and hour-glass. Below the effigies are four adult sons, kneeling on cushions, with doublets and breeches similar to their father's, with swords, cloaks and ruffs. There are three infant sons with ruffs. There are four adult daughters in a similar costume to their mother's, except that they have no caps; their hair is turned back over a pad. Two infant daughters with caps and straight gowns complete the family.

9. "Here lie buried the bodies of Thomas Machen Esq. late Alderman of this City of Gloucester, thrice Maior of the same, who departed this life the 18 day of October 1614 in the 74th yeare of his age, and of Christian his wife with whom he lived in the estate of marriage 50 yeares and had issue 7 sonnes and 6 daughters. She departed this life June 29, 1615 in the 70th yeare of her age. Res pedit huc morimur Mors ultima linea verum."

10. The figures are painted. The hair of Time and other parts are gilded.

On shields at the top of the monument are:—

(1) *Vert, on a pale gules, between two horseshoes, each horseshoe between three stub-nails, two in chief and one in base, all meeting with their points to the shoe, argent, a sword in a scabbard azure, hilt, pommel, and studding or. On the point of the sword a cap of maintenance, gules, turned up ermine. On a chief per pale, or and purpure a boar's head couped argent; in his mouth a quince apple between two demi roses, the dexter gules and the sinister argent, both barbed vert, each issuing rays from its centre pointing to the boar's head, or.* These were the arms of the city of Gloucester granted by Christopher Barker, Garter King of Arms, on October 18th, 1538.[1]

(2) *Quarterly 1 and 4, "Or, a chevron indented gules between three leaves vert:" 2 and 3, "Argent, three flowers in a vase proper."* These are not the arms given for Machen in the Heralds' Visitation of 1623.

Mrs. Machen wears a black gown, the front of which is very similar to that of her husband's doublet, except that

[1] See *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 138.

it is not ornamented; the sleeves are tight, with plain linen cuffs at the wrists; the bodice is heavily frilled below the waist, and the dress falls in heavy folds. There are epaulets on the shoulders, and a train falls from the neck. On her head is the Paris head-dress, worn over a close-fitting cap.

Mrs. Machen is described in the Heralds' Visitation as "the daughter and coheire of . . . Baston of Swell in Com. Gloc."

11. The heads of the figures have been repaired.

12. The monument is affixed to the north wall of the east end of the north aisle of the nave, where the "Mayor's Chapel" once stood.

13. The tomb and effigies are described or referred to in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 238, and vol. xviii., p. 263; Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 138. They are illustrated in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester* and *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xviii., pl. 5.

14. The effigies are always in danger of splitting open, owing to the insertion of an iron bar, which expands as it rusts.

15. A pedigree of "Machen" is given in the *Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623*, published by the Harleian Society, p. 106. The will of Thomas Machen, dated September 9th, 1614, was proved December 3rd, 1614, and his wife's, dated June 21st, 1615, was proved November 14th, 1615.

XII. John and Anne Bower, A.D. 1615.

1. Civilian.

2 and 3. A painting on wood panelling.

4. The largest figures are about 2 ft. high.

5. The man has short hair, a moustache, and beard. There is a ruff round his neck with a single fold. He wears a cloak with a fur border hanging down the whole length of it. His inner garment has tight sleeves edged with a frill at the wrist; he appears to wear trunk hose. The wife wears a black dress, tight to the waist and from thence flowing in folds to

her feet. She also wears a cap and a broad-brimmed black hat, a ruff and frills of the same material at the wrists. The daughters have similar dresses, except that they wear Paris hats instead of a broad-brimmed hat. Of the nine sons five have ruffs. The first appears to be in clerical dress with a mantle and large falling collar. The next one has armour on his arms, wrists and legs, a breast-plate, skirt of plate, &c. The third has armour above and red trunk hose. The fourth and fifth have falling collars, armour on arms and chest, and tight knee breeches. The sixth and seventh have trunk hose, and the ninth has knee breeches. The eighth wears a collar.

8. The two large figures are kneeling at a table with an open book between them; behind this is a niche with pillars, on which are their arms: *Sable, a cross patée arg.*

9. The inscription is given in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 136.

10. The figures and the arms are painted.

12. Against the west wall of the north transept.

13. Described in Britton, p. 72.

14. Fairly good.

15. Bower was an *alias* of the Robins family, but nothing is known of this branch of it.

XIII. ELIZABETH WILLIAMS, A.D. 1622.

1. Lady.

2. Effigy, semi-recumbent, resting head on right hand.

3. Alabaster.

4. Life-size.

5. She has curly hair, covered by a frilled cap. She wears a ruff in two folds and a tight-fitting bodice buttoned down the front. It is open at the throat and turned back, showing lace underneath. To the bodice is attached the skirt, gathered in by means of a cord, which is fastened in a bow at the waist. The bodice has tight sleeves buttoned at the wrist. Over these are pleated linen cuffs. Round her neck she wears a scarf which hangs down on both sides and

a sleeveless mantle with epaulets. Over this is a cloak which covers the back of her head and cap and falls down her back in folds. In her left hand she has a book with broken straps. She wears high-heeled shoes cut square at the toes. By her side, lying on a cushion, is an infant in swaddling clothes tied round with a ribbon fastened in a bow. The child has a bonnet with a cap inside and a round bib, which is continued at the back of the head.

6. Her head rests on her right hand. The elbow rests on a cushion.

7. There is nothing at the feet.

8. She lies within a semicircular-headed recess under a cornice supported by pillars of black marble. In the spandrels are—on the dexter side, *or, a chevron cotised sable, between three sprigs with roses and leaves proper;* on the sinister side, *ermine a fesse sable, a crescent for difference.*

9. See Fosbrooke and Rudder, p. 173.

10. The arms are tinctured.

11. A few chips have been knocked out of the book and cuffs, and initials have been cut all over the figure.

12. Below the fourth window from the east on the north side of the Lady Chapel.

13. Illustrated in Fosbrooke; described in *Transactions*, vol. xiii., p. 257.

14. In good condition, but see 11 above.

15. Elizabeth Williams was the youngest daughter of Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester from 1612–1624,[1] and was the sister of Margery Clent, whose monument appears on the opposite side of the Lady Chapel. She married John Williams, gentleman, and died at the age of seventeen in 1622.

XIV. Margery Clent, A.D. 1623.

1. Lady.
2. Mural effigy, kneeling.
3. Alabaster.

[1] See under Margery Clent.

4. About a third of life-size.

5. Her costume is very similar to that of Elizabeth Williams. She has curly hair showing at the sides under a frilled cap. She wears a tight-fitting bodice fastened with buttons down the front, opened at the throat, and turned back with two revers. Her skirt is full. She wears a belt and a cloak, which is turned over her head like a hood. The cloak is fastened over her left arm with a clasp. In her left hand is a handkerchief with gold edging.

6. Her head is supported by her right arm resting on a cushion on a table or pedule, on the side of which is carried an hour-glass.

8. The monument consists of a semicircular arch with cornice, above which within a wreath is a lozenge, *or, a chevron cotised sable between three roses leaved and stalked gules.* On each side of the figure are two Corinthian pillars surmounted by obelisks. Below her are three panels, in the central one on black marble the inscription.

9. *Memoriæ Sacrum.*

In obitum Margeriæ Clent, Jacobi Clent, Generosa Conjugis charissimæ R. diq^{3} in Christo Patris ac Dm: Dm: Milonis Gloucestrensis Epi: filiarum alterius quæ cursum in terris pie & placide consumavit 8° die Aprilis A° Dom. 1623°. Ætatis suæ 21.

Obsequiosa viro fuit, officiosa parenti,
Et patuit miseris dextera, corq^{3} Deo.
Cætera continuos virtus rediviva per annos
Claruit, ad celsum subsequiturque polu;
Subsequiturque infans uteri sub nocte reluctans
Nec potuit lucem visere mors vetuit.

10. Gilding.

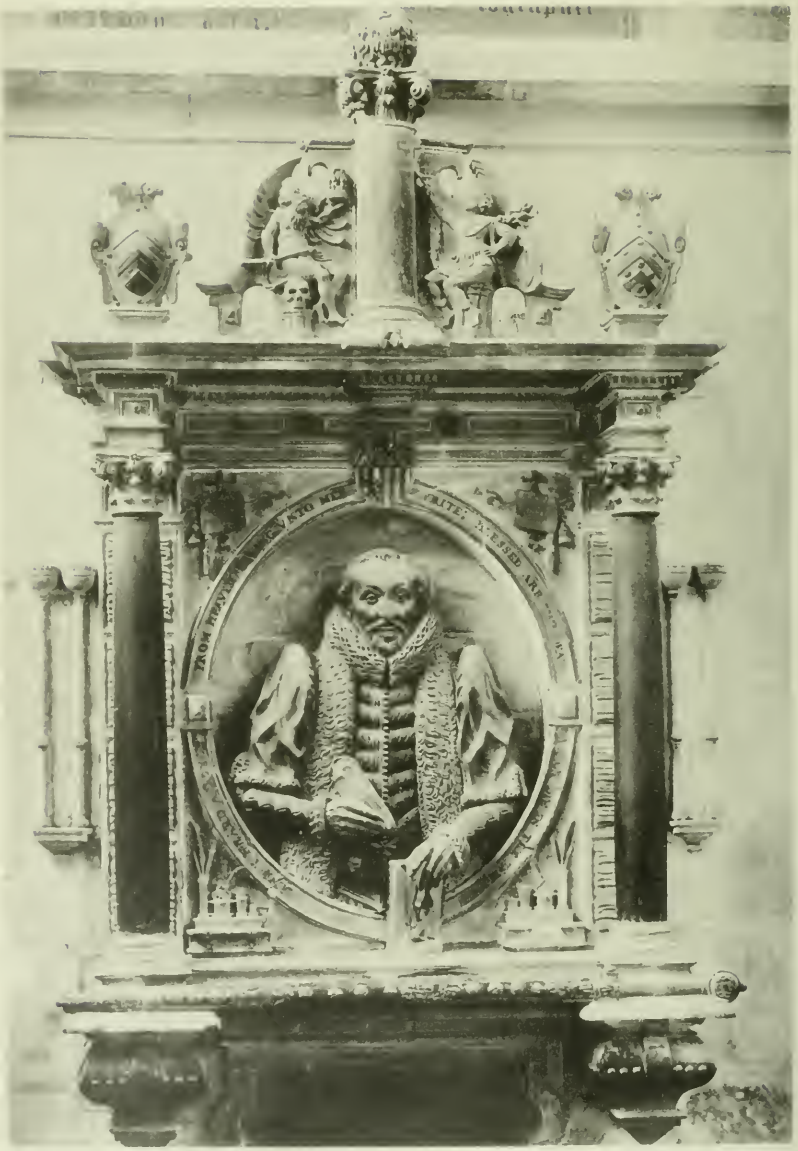
11. None.

12. On the south wall of Lady Chapel.

13. Described in Rudder, p. 173, and Fosbrooke, illustrated in latter.

14. In excellent condition.

15. Margery Clent was the second daughter of Miles



R. W. DUGDALE, Photo.

JOHN JONES.

Smith, Bishop of Gloucester from 1612 to 1624. He was one of the translators of the Bible in 1611, and was rewarded by promotion to the See of Gloucester.[1] Margery married James Clent, a Gloucester gentleman, who died in 1645. Their son William and their grandchildren Elizabeth and Miles were also buried in the Lady Chapel. This monument was erected to Margery Clent by her daughter-in-law Brigida, wife of William.[2]

XV. John Jones, Alderman, A.D. 1630.

1. Civilian.
2. Half-length upright effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.

5. The head is bare, with curly hair, moustache and beard. The figure wears a ruff and a mayor's gown with red sleeves falling to the elbow, edged with fur, and a large fur border passing round the neck and falling like a stole on each side. Under this is a garment like a waistcoat with sleeves; the bottom of the garment is peaked and fastened with a bow of ribbon; it has a row of buttons up the middle. The whole garment appears to be covered with little slashes. In the right hand is a bundle of small parchment deeds with the seal of the bishopric displaying, as on Bishop Goldsborough's tomb, the arms of De Clare surmounted by a mitre in the fesse point. In his left hand, resting on the floor of the bracket, is a book with three Prince of Wales' feathers on a diamond on the back, and with straps.

8. The effigy is in an oval recess, cut out of the wall. Round the oval are the words, "I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." On either side are false drawers with gilt handles and four packets of deeds as though in pigeon-holes, dated—on his right 1581, 1590, 1600, no date, and on his left 1615, 1620, 1630, and no date. In the spandrels between these and

[1] Britton's *History of Gloucester*, p. 37. [2] *See* Rudder, pp. 173, 174.

the oval are—above him deeds with seals and other badges of his legal profession, and below him two inkstands resting on books with pens, sand-box, &c. Above his head is a shield bearing his arms with five quarterings: (1) *Ermine, a saltire gules;* (2) *Or, a lion sable, a crescent for difference:* (3) *Or, a lion rampant sable debruised by a bend sinister gules;* (4) *Paly of six argent and gules, over all a lion rampant sable:* (5) *Paly of six gules and or.* Beyond the packet of deeds on either side is a pair of maces. Attached to the wall is an alabaster bracket, at the foot of which lies the sword of the city. Above the architrave, which is supported by two black pillars with Corinthian capitals, are two oval medallions with the arms of the De Clares for Gloucestershire on the dexter side, and the same with ten torteaux for the city on the sinister side. Between these rises a Corinthian pillar with an inscription, a representation of Father Time with hour-glass and scythe, and a male figure in classical costume pointing to the inscription. In the wall, on either side of the monument, are two maces carved in stone and resting on brackets.

9. See Fosbrooke, p. 137; Rudder, p. 177.

10. The figure is painted.

11. No mutilations.

12. On the west wall, on the right hand of the great west door.

13. Fosbrooke, fol., pp. 127 and 137; Rudder, p. 177.

14. In excellent condition.

15. As the inscription shows, John Jones was registrar to eight succeeding bishops, commencing with Richard Cheyney and ending with Godfrey Goodman. He was mayor in 1597, 1618, and 1625, and Member of Parliament from the first to the twelfth year of James I. (1603–14). He died on June 1st, 1630. Joan, his wife, died on January 18th, 1594, and was buried in the church of St. Mary de Crypt. The date of his decease is not given on the monument, because this was executed in his lifetime, but it might be seen on the gravestone on the floor. See Fosbrooke, pp. 127 and 137.

W. R. DUGDALE, Photo.

ABRAHAM BLACKLEECH AND GERTRUDE, HIS WIFE.

XVI. Abraham Blackleech, a.d. 1639.

1. Civilian.
2. Effigy, recumbent.
3. Alabaster.
4. Life-size.
5. He is bareheaded with long, flowing hair; he has a moustache and peaked beard. He wears a fourfold ruff. There is no armour visible beyond the sword. A broad belt crosses the chest diagonally from the right shoulder and divides into four buckles and loops, two of which hold the sword scabbard and two are disengaged. The sword has the basket-guard hilt, which was introduced early in the sixteenth century, and also the old crossbar. He wears a slashed doublet with epaulets and with buttons down the middle. This ends at the waist, where the knee-breeches meet it. The joining is hidden by a narrow ornamented belt; across the body is folded a cloak. The doublet has a lappet or flap, which comes to a point in the centre. The sleeves are turned up with lace; the hands are bare; the breeches are full. He wears jack-boots with smooth leather at the top and creased or plaited leather below. The shoes have large rosettes like quatrefoils. There are rowell-spurs. The cloak is spread under the body.
6. Two cushions with tassels.
7. An eagle erect.
8. He and his wife lie on an altar-tomb with two panels on the north side and one at each end. The latter are plain, but on the former are two shields bearing: (1) *Or, three bars sable*, Blackleech impaling *gules semèe of crosses crosslet or, over all a saltire of the second*. Probably William Blackleech and his wife, parents of Abraham Blackleech. (2) *Paly of six or and gules, over all on a bend azure three mullets or*, for Elton, impaling *argent a fesse sable, in chief three mascles or*, for Aston, the parents of Gertrude Blackleech. Behind the tomb is a mural monument with a cornice supported by two Corinthian pillars, within which is the following inscription. Above the monument is

a shield bearing *or, three bars sable* for Blackleech, and below the inscription a shield bearing *or, three bars sable* impaling *paly of six or and gules, over all on a bend azure three mullets or*, for Abraham Blackleech and his wife Gertrude.

9. Inscription given by Fosbrooke, fol., p. 138: "To the happy memorie of Abraham Blackleech Gent. a sonne of William Blackleech Esq. A man not onely generally beloved in his Life but deservedly endeared to Posteritie by rare example of seldome attained piety expressed in his bounty to St. Paule's in London, to this Church, to the high wayes about and the poore in this Citie, who laying aside the vilenesse of mortalitie was admitted to the glory of eternity November 30th 1639. Gertrude his wife, daughter of Ambrose Elton and Anne sister to Walter Lord Aston, hath erected this monument as a testimony of his fame and her observance." On the folded ribbon round the inscription is the text: "All flesh is grass, and all the grace thereof is as the flower of the field. Isaiah 40. 6."

10. No, except the tinctures on the shields.

11. Wonderfully perfect. There is a chip out of the top of his right boot. One of the eagle's claws is gone.

12. Against south wall of south transept. Fosbrooke says it was in the Mayor's Chapel against the east wall. Unless the slab of the tomb has been much altered, at the time of its removal its south side must have rested against a south wall as at present.

13. Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*; described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii., p. 258.

14. Beautifully carved. We could not find any name, initials, or mark of sculptor.

15. William Blackleech, father of Abraham, was Chancellor of the Diocese of Gloucester. His tomb, Fosbrooke says, was in the north aisle with the following inscription: "William Blackleech, Bachlor of the Civil Laws, Chancellor of this Diocese for the space of 24 years, Esquire, died March 24th, 1616. Mary, late wife of William Blackleech, died January 27th, 1617."

XVII. Mary Blackleech. (Carved about 1639.)

1. Lady.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Alabaster.
4. Life-size.
5. She has curly hair. Her eyes are open. Over her head is a cloak, held on by a clasp, which covers the parting of her hair and comes partly over her forehead. She wears a fichu, showing the bodice in a point in front; the fichu is edged with two rows of broad lace, each edged with lace rosettes. Under the fichu she wears stays, laced in front and ornamented with lace. Under this is a bodice, fastened in front, the edges bordered with lace. Her tunic has full sleeves, and flows to her feet. She wears small, pointed shoes.
6. Two cushions with tassels.
7. At feet a mailed arm and hand holding a scimitar.
8-15. See above under Abraham Blackleech.

XVIII. John Powell, Judge, A.D. 1713.

1. Civilian, judicial.
2. Effigy, standing erect.
3. Marble.
4. Slightly larger than life-size.
5. He wears a skull cap over long, curling hair. He wears a coat, of which the sleeves only appear; each has three buttons with braided button-holes. Under these appear cuffs or wrist-bands with studs. He wears a judicial gown over the coat, opening down the middle of the front as far as the waist, and a cincture with a bow on the right side. This gown has wide sleeves with broad fur edging. Above this is a tippet with fur edge, and over all a mantle and hood lined with fur. He wears academical bands, and holds a roll in his right hand. His shoes have high heels, and are cut square at the toes.

6 and 7. Standing up.

8. He stands on a semicircular pedestal within a recess with escalloped semicircular head. On each side of this recess are two fluted pillars with capitals ornamented with acanthus leaves. These support a segmental capital, on the top of which is a funeral urn. The moulded arch of the Abbot's Chapel has been cut away to receive this. Within the canopy is a coat of arms mantled with a squire's helm. *Party per pale azure and gules three lions rampant arg.* Crest: Bust of a maiden. On each side of the pillars is a boy weeping. The figure on his right holds the handle of a torch inverted in his right hand, and with his left clasps his breast. The one on the left holds the handle of a torch upright, and rests his left on a broken pillar. Their only garment is a cloak suspended by a strap from the shoulder.

9. The inscription is given by Fosbrooke, p. 134.

10. The arms are tinctured, and there are a few traces of gilding on the urn, canopy, crest, &c.

11. The monument appears to be in a perfect condition.

12. On the north side of the Lady Chapel under the arch of the Abbot's Chapel.

13. Illustrated in Fosbrooke; described in *Trans.*, vol. xiii., p. 258.

14. Excellent condition; protected by iron railings with gate.

15. Judge Powell was successively a justice of the Courts of Common Pleas and of the King's Bench, and was one of the judges who tried the seven bishops (1688) and joined in the declaration against the king's dispensing power. For this James II. deprived him of his office, July 2nd, 1688; but William III. created him first a baron of the Exchequer, then a judge in the Common Pleas, and on June 18th, 1702, advanced him to the King's Bench, where he sat until his death, June 14th, 1713. In 1685 he had represented his native city of Gloucester in Parliament. This monument was erected by his nephew John Snell.[1]

[1] Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 74.

XIX. William Lisle, A.D. 1723.

1. Civil.
2. Bust.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.
5. Long curling hair or wig; scarf hanging down in front; coat open in front, and cloak thrown round; eyes open.
8. The bust stands on a tablet bearing the inscription. A second tablet behind the bust is surmounted by a phœnix. Beneath the bust is a shield: *or, a fesse between two chevronels sable*. The tablet is of marble and on it is:
9. In° Rickitts fecit.

Near this place
Lieth the Body of William Lisle, Gent., who by his will gave fifty pounds a year for ever in lands at Epney
in Charity
To ye Parishes of St Nicholas in Gloucester and St Werburgh in Bristol.
He Died
December 2 1723
Aged 35.

10. Arms tinctured.
11. None.
12. Triforium, north side of presbytery, on the pillar nearest to the whispering gallery. This monument was originally on the east wall of the north transept, enclosed with iron rails.
13. The monument is described in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 137.
14. It is in good condition.

XX. Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, A.D. 1752.

1. Ecclesiastical.
2. Bust on medallion.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. Thick, curling hair or wig. Academic gown with bands.

8. Wreath of oak-leaves around the medallion; above, a funeral urn draped; at the sides of the urn two books; below the medallion an inscription. Beneath the inscription, on a shield supported by two flaming torches, are the arms of the bishopric: *Azure, two keys in saltire or, the sinister oppressing the dexter;* impaling *argent on a chevron sable, three crosses patée or*, Benson.

9. The inscription is given in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 137.

10. None.

11. None.

12. In the triforium, the south side of the presbytery, on the pillar nearest to the whispering gallery. This monument was originally on the north side of the great west door of the nave.

13. Illustrated and described in Fosbrooke's *History o Gloucester*, fol., p. 137.

14. In excellent condition.

15. The inscription tells us that he was the son of John Benson, Prebendary of Hereford, by Catherine, daughter of Benjamin Martin, of Oxfordshire, and grandson of George Benson, Dean of Hereford, by Catherine, daughter of Samuel Fell. He was born in 1689, and educated at the Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford. He was Prebendary of Salisbury, Archdeacon of Berkshire, Prebendary of Durham, King's chaplain, and Rector of Bletchley. He was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in January, 1735, and died at the palace in 1752. He was buried in front of the great west door, and, as he forbade his executors to say anything of his personal character on his tomb, his friend, Gabriel Hanger, of Dryffield, erected another tablet on the east wall of the south transept with a laudatory inscription.[1]

[1] See Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, fol., p. 137.

XXI. Mary, Lady Strachan, a.d. 1770.

1. (6) Lady.

2. Bust in bas-relief on a medallion.

3. Marble.

4. About half life-size.

5. The eyes are open; the hair is drawn up to the top of the head. Part of a low-necked bodice in loose folds is visible.

8. The monument is in the form of a mural tablet. The medallion is supported by a weeping cherub. At the foot of the tablet appear to be *azure, on a buck an escutcheon argent; in chief gules, two bucks' heads; on a canton azure, a saltire argent; over all an escutcheon within a bordure fleury de lys, a lion rampant; in chief a crown.* The shield is supported by two huntsmen holding staves. Above is a baronet's helm with a right hand holding a sword, surrounded by a wreath and mantling of oak leaves; beneath, the motto "Forward."

9. Inscription given in Fosbrooke, p. 138. Dame Mary Strachan, died 1770.

10. There are no remains of painting, &c.

11. None.

12. On the south wall of the nave.

13. Illustrated in Fosbrooke; described in Britton's *History of Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 75, and in Fosbrooke, p. 138.

14. In good condition.

15. Mary, Lady Strachan, was the wife of Sir William Strachan, and the daughter and sole heiress of Edward Popham, of Tewkesbury Park, and a descendant of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Her husband, Sir William Strachan, purchased the estate called Haynes in Bishop's Cleeve, and built a mansion there. She died in 1770. After her death Tewkesbury Park passed to John Wall, Lieut.-Col. of the South Gloucestershire Militia, and the Haynes was sold to Mr. Thornloe. Sir William Strachan bequeathed land in Castle Morton, Worcestershire, to the poor of Tewkesbury in 1757, so that he had predeceased his wife by some thirteen years.

XXII. SARAH MORLEY, A.D. 1784.

1. Lady.

2. Monumental slab.

3. Marble, white figures on a black background.

4. Two-thirds life-size.

5. She wears a long robe, fastened at the waist with a scarf. The robe is drawn over the back of her head like a veil.

8. She holds on her left arm a babe, and an angel grasps her right hand as she rises from the sea. Two other angels floating in the air, one in front and the other behind, receive her. On one side of the inscription is a pelican in her piety, and on the other is a bird mourning a dead companion.

9. The inscription above is, "The sea shall give up its dead"; the one below the monument is given in Rudder, p. 127 (?). The name of the sculptor is given, "Flaxman, inv. et fec."

10. None.

11. Mutilation—one angel has lost a foot.

12. The tomb is affixed to the wall in the central arcade of the north aisle of the nave, and consists of an arch.

13. Described in Britton, p. 76, and Fosbrooke, p. 127.

14. In good condition.

15. Mrs. Morley was the daughter of James Richardson, of Newent, and the wife of James Morley, of Bombay. She died on her voyage homewards from India on May 17th, 1784, and was buried at sea.

The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. R. W. Dugdale for the excellent photographs of the effigies of Serlo, Abraham and Gertrude Blackleech, and John Jones.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1903. IV.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"I regard the stately or beautiful or historic fabrics of a bygone age as a priceless heirloom, to be tenderly and almost religiously guarded by succeeding generations."—Lord Curzon.

In Bristol and the district no very extensive excavations marked the year 1903 as an important one. The weather was continuously wet, and digging was well-nigh impossible throughout the summer and autumn; yet quite a number of interesting archæological discoveries occurred, and members have much subject-matter to engage their attention for a long time to come, and certainly some puzzles to unravel.

PRE-HISTORIC BRONZE AGE.

An unusually interesting find of the Bronze Age has to be recorded from this district. One can only regret that it is but a single specimen, and that no other objects belonging to the same period were found with it.

Specimens of this period so seldom turn up, that when a discovery is made considerable interest is aroused amongst antiquaries; but no discoveries in the immediate neighbourhood appear to have been recorded previous to the interesting find at Combe Dingle in 1899,[1] though two palstaves were unearthed just without the city boundary, on the Gloucestershire side, as late as 1885.

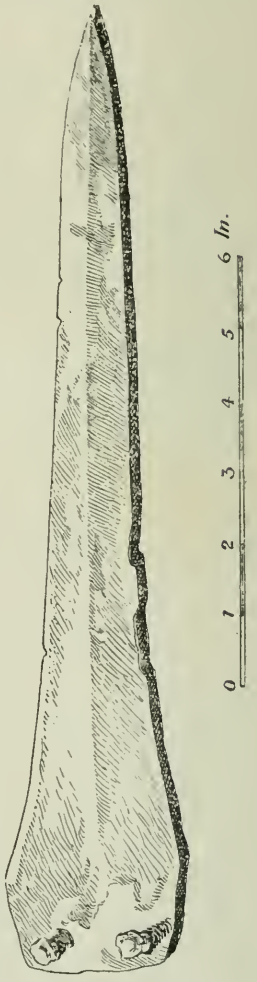
It seems to me, therefore, that the present moment is a favourable opportunity for placing on record a preliminary

[1] *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. v., p. 118.

LIST OF THE BRONZE AGE OBJECTS

Found in Bristol and the Neighbourhood.

As these are very few in number, and the list is hardly likely to be complete, it will be open to members to contribute notes as to finds that have come within their knowledge. It may be well to mention that the British Museum collection does not include a single specimen from the Bristol district.

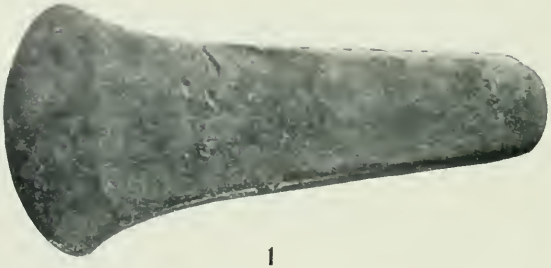


The following specimens (A to G inclusive) were exhibited[1] at the first evening meeting of this club (Winter Session), at the Literary and Philosophic Club, Clifton, on December 9th, 1903:—[2]

(A) *Rapier-shape blade:* This latest discovery was made at Avonmouth in the month of August, during excavations for the new dock. (*See* illustration.) The blade is 13¼ inches long, and the point is still sharp. It is in excellent condition, and a well-marked mid-rib runs down both sides. The tang has two rivet holes, and the rivets themselves are attached, but the haft has perished. This specimen was found on the top of a bed of sand, below the silt, at a spot about the middle of the south wall of the new dock, in the bed of the old north channel between Dunball Island and the dock, some 10 feet below low-water mark of spring tides and over 40 feet below the present level of the ground.

[1] By kind permission of the owners, who have willingly allowed the specimens to be illustrated.

[2] See report, *Bristol Times and Mirror*, Dec. 10th, 1903.



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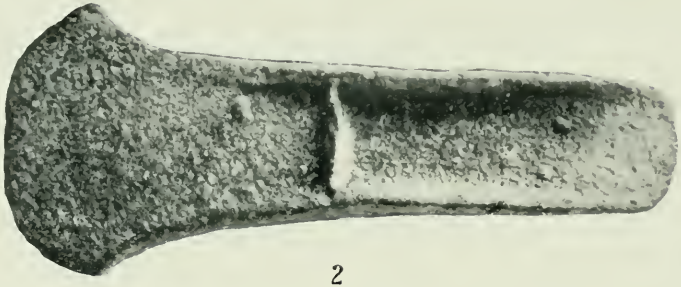

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PLATE I.

It is quite impossible to account for the position of the find.

In the Bristol Museum collection.

(B) *Flanged celt:* $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 2 inches across cutting edge, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick in centre; weight, 7 ozs.; dark brown colour. (Plate I., Fig. 1.)

Found many years since during operations connected with the widening of Bristol Bridge.

In the collection of Mr. Weare.

(C) *Celt, with stop ridge:* $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches across cutting edge, 1 inch width of side flanges; weight, $14\frac{1}{4}$ ozs.; green colour, but poor condition. (Plate I., Fig. 2.)

Found many years since during operations connected with the widening of Bristol Bridge. *In the collection of Mr. Weare.*

(D) *Fragment of a sword blade:* $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches at widest point; weight, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ozs.; smooth surface, but edges very irregular; dark brown colour, slightly patinated. (Plate I., Fig. 3.)

In the collection of Mr. Weare.

This specimen was purchased by Mr. Tregaskis, of London, at the sale of the Pearce (Ramsgate) collection at Sotheby's, 1898; it bore the following label:—"Found when excavating Bristol Bridge, Bath Street, Bristol. From the collection of Mr. Edgar, Pembroke Road, Bristol, 5.9.'74."

(E) *Palstave:* 6 inches long, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide at the cutting edge, side flanges $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches wide, with well-marked rib on blade; weight, 15 ozs.; in good state, and finely patinated. (Plate II., Fig. 1.)

Found at Bristol Bridge, Bath Street, Bristol, 1874. From the "Edkins" collection.

In the collection of Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.

(F) *Palstave:* $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at the cutting edge, side flanges $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide; with well-marked rib on

blade; weight, 17½ ozs.; in fine state, and well patinated. (Plate II., Fig. 2.)

In my own collection.

This and another Palstave were found at Westbury-on-Trym in 1885. The other specimen went into the collection of the late Mr. William Edkins, and was sold at the sale of his antiquities at Sotheby's, May, 1891; it eventually went to Strassburg.

(G) *Looped Socketed Celt:* 5 inches long, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches wide at the cutting edge, and $1\frac{15}{16}$ inches in diameter at the opening of the socket, the latter being 4 inches deep; weight, 14 ozs.; finely patinated and in very fine condition. (Plate II., Fig. 3.)

Found in the River Avon, about 20 feet below the river bank, opposite St. Vincent's Parade, during the construction of the new locks at Bristol Docks in 1870. This specimen was presented by Mr. Slade, engineer to the Bristol Docks at the time of the find, to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club[1] in 1896. The President of the Club in 1903 (Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. Scot.) kindly lent the original for exhibition at our meeting before referred to, though he had in 1892 most generously contributed a "cast" to the Bristol Museum.

From the Bronze Age we pass to the succeeding period, that of the

PRE-HISTORIC IRON AGE,

a few additional objects having been discovered during the year. These latest finds still further confirm the identification of those interesting relics which came to light in 1900,[2] and again in 1902.[3]

In consequence of the many difficulties inseparable from the work of excavating for the foundations of new buildings constantly rising in our midst—which are nearly always erected against time—it has never been found possible to arrange for any fixed plan of digging; but the writer's

[1] See *Proc. of Barrow Field Club*, vol. xv., p. 110.

[2] See *Trans.*, vol. xxiii., p. 270. [3] See *Trans.*, vol. xxvi., p. 140.

PLATE II.

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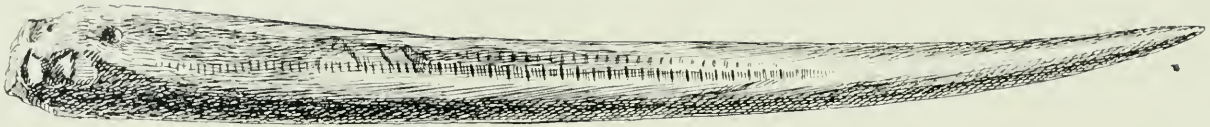
PLATE III.



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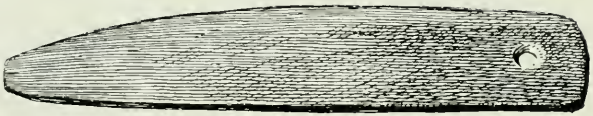

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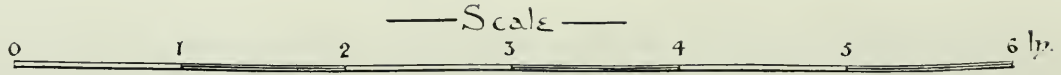


PRE-HISTORIC IRON-AGE, OBJECTS FOUND IN BRISTOL, 1903.

constant visits to the various sites upon the ancient peninsula, extending over many years of observation, have had most fortunate results, and the following specimens will indicate the value of the latest finds:—

A. An unusually fine *bone needle*, 7 inches long, well pointed and polished, the eye having been drilled by an iron drill. It is nearly black from burial, but is in perfect condition.

On the inner curve are over a hundred short cross markings, each about one-sixteenth of an inch in length; but for what purpose these were added by the primitive workman is uncertain. (Plate III., Fig. 1.)

This implement was found over 20 feet below the sloping bank of the Frome, in the blue alluvial deposit: equal to a depth of over 30 feet below the level of Wine Street.

B. A portion of a much smaller and *finer needle*. (Plate III., Fig. 2.)

C. The *tine of a deer*, showing five clear indications of sawing. This is probably the base brow tine of a fallow-deer antler [*Cervus doma*]. (Plate III., Fig. 3.) It was found at the same depth as A and B.

D. A small slate *whetstone*, 3¼ inches long, drilled for suspension to the girdle. This was found at considerable depth in the bank, further down the stream. (Plate III., Fig. 4.)

THE MEDIÆVAL AND LATER PERIODS

are represented by the following finds during the year, principally within the city boundary:—

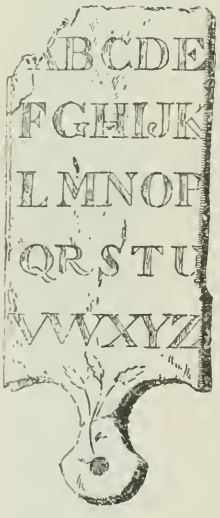
An *iron spur* of the fourteenth century: the end of the stirt was broken, and there was no rowel, but all four hooks were attached, so that in the case of this early specimen buckles had not been used. This spur was found in the course of city drainage work in All Saints' Street.

A *brass gaiter spur* of the seventeenth century, with graceful shank, but there was no rowel. This was found in Temple

Street. It is similar in character to the one discovered in 1902, but is of more pleasing design.

An *ecclesiastical silver finger ring*, with stone setting, of the fifteenth century, and English workmanship. There are some similar specimens in the "Waterton collection" at South Kensington, but such rings are very rarely met with, and none have been recorded from Bristol sites. This ring was found on March 2nd, in the centre of the city, in a deep excavation; an Edwardian leather sole was discovered at the same time.

An *alphabet tablet of bone*, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, evidently of late seventeenth-century date: it was found in a rubbish pit beneath an eighteenth-century house.



Notice the ears of corn, probably the symbol of knowledge, which spring from the use of the alphabet. A very rare find from excavations.

A brass *tobacco stopper*, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, from a Bedminster digging. This is interesting, as one side of the oval handle bears a portrait of Charles I., and on the reverse that of Henrietta Maria. This is evidently of English make, whilst sundry "crude" specimens that turn up here from time to time, often from the river dredgings, are undoubtedly, of Dutch origin.

With reference to the fragment of *dated delft pottery* described in my notes for 1900,[1] an unexpected coincidence may be interesting and worth recording. Early in the year in chatting with a local collector upon the subject of pottery, I heard quite incidentally that a small piece of delft, bearing a "letter," was in the possession of yet

[1] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 267.

another individual. This fragment, which eventually came to me, exactly joined my piece of pottery, and which, though only fragmentary, is now a much more valuable possession. It now reads:

N
I E
1647

The date is an early one, and all dated pottery is now very scarce.

A perfect example of an *octagonal blue and white delft plate*, with floral design, found under the flooring of an eighteenth-century house during demolition.

Numerous seventeenth and eighteenth-century *glass phials* in iridescent state.

The *tobacco pipes* included several previously described[1] of the period 1650–80, and also a small bowl specimen bearing a figure head, probably of early seventeenth-century date.

COINAGE.

Numismatic members will be disappointed at the record of so few finds. Only one piece appears to have been found earlier than the period of Elizabeth, and no gold whatever.

Amongst the specimens turned up, many of the following will be found to be interesting:—

Edward I. silver penny: CIVITAS LONDON (Temple Street).

Elizabeth sixpence, 1581 (Wine Street).

Charles I. half-crown: Ordinary type (Dean's Marsh).

Square Bristol farthing: From drainage work carried on close to the course of the Frome at St. Augustine's. A good specimen of the type with the arms on a shield within a circle.[2]

Circular Bristol farthing: The rare type without date, and without inscription on the reverse (Dean's Marsh); and others, circular, including one of the scarce 1670 date.

James I. "Harrington": Usual type, m.m. a ball.

[1] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 267; vol. xxiv., p. 280.

[2] Now in Mr. Page's collection.

Charles I. Harrington: Usual type, but the obverse reading CARA.[1] instead of CARO., m.m. a cross. A very rare variety; it may possibly be a contemporary forgery.

Traders' tokens, seventeenth century, several being in excellent condition:

1. *Obv.* AT THE RAMES HEAD = a Ram's Head.
   Rev. TAVERN IN SOVTHWARK = I. S. R.

This specimen is an *unpublished* variety[2]; it was found at the Pithay.

A token issued by the same trader is mentioned by Williamson, but having a final E to Tavern and Sovthwark.[3]

The Ram's Head is marked in the London map of 1542 by the river, next St. Olave's Church. It was an ancient inn, and is said to have belonged to Sir John Fastolfe. A rhyme by Taylor, the water poet, in 1630, refers to this old house as follows:

> "At Ram or Ram's Head be it known to all
> Are wine predominent, and capitall,
> To set a horseman quite beside the saddle."

2. *Obv.* THE 3 TVNN TAVERNE IN = Three tuns.
   Rev. GRACE CHVRCH STREETE = I. E. K.

There was another tavern in this street, at the same period, known as the "Three Tunns."

3. *Obv.* JOHN HATCH OF = a man making candles.
   Rev. CHICHESTER — 1665 = I. H.

4. *Obv.* WALTER MORGAN, 1670 = WM, conjoined.
   Rev. A CHEPSTOWE FARTHING = a portcullis.

5. *Obv.* WILLIAM BENNET = a lion rampant.
   Rev. OF CROOKHORNE, 1666 = W. B.

Issued at Crewkerne, Somerset.

[1] Montagu (H.), *Copper Coinage of England* (1885 Ed.), p. 8.

[2] The writer has given this specimen to the British Museum.

[3] See *Traders' Tokens of the 17th Century* (Williamson's edition of Boyne, 1889), vol. ii., p. 1044, No. 463.

Queen Anne shilling, 1709: Plain spaces between angles of shield; in fine condition. From a city trench in St. James's parish.

George III. twopenny, 1797: In fine state.

These are the finest of the specimens that have turned up from city diggings, but many others were found, as usual, in worthless condition.

ROADS AND STRUCTURES.

In February, when a new road was being cut from Tyndall's Lodge, in Tyndall's Park, to the top of St. Michael's Hill, one might reasonably have expected some relics of the Civil Wars, being so near the Royalists' fort; but a few fragments of seventeenth and eighteenth-century pottery, some pipe-bowls and a halfpenny of William III. of 1696, comprised all that came to light. Neither has anything of greater importance been found on the east slope of the same hill, which has during the summer months been cut up for building operations.

Again, when the road on Durdham down level—between the Stoke and Westbury roads—was considerably widened, one looked for traces of Romano-British occupation, as the so-called "via Julia" crossed just at that spot, but nothing was found.

At Sea Mills, however, a second brass of Vespasian was picked up, on the line of the Roman road, in the autumn.

During trenching operations in Temple parish, for a new water main, some *ancient wooden water-pipes* were discovered in November.

A stretch of about 90 feet of these pipes ran towards the city from the south end of Temple Street—by Portwall Lane—the same branching off from the line of the roadway on the west side, beneath the pavement and thence under Mardon's factory.

The logs of elm, which had evidently been only roughly

trimmed, were from 10 to 12 inches in diameter; they were bored with round holes, from $2\frac{7}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter at the spigot end and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter at the faucet end.

One length dug out was interesting, for it was pierced by a $2\frac{1}{4}$-inch plug-hole and fitted with a wood plug: a few inches off was another plug-hole, 2 inches in diameter, evidently for a service connection. The end of the main had also been stopped by a wood plug.

Elm was mostly used for the water-pipes in olden times, as it resisted the pressure better than any other wood, and was found to be less liable to decay; but much trouble was caused by constant leakage, especially during the frosty weather.

These primitive water mains appear to have been almost universally adopted during the seventeenth century.

Long stretches of these pipes, of various size bores, were laid in Bristol; and in old London an immense quantity must have been used, judging by the constant traces found even nowadays in the alterations of streets. The pipes are never worth taking up, as they are quite useless.

Similar pipes to those uncovered in Temple parish were found in the same neighbourhood in 1848.

DEMOLITION.

But the blast of demolition is still heard above all other sounds, for we have been face to face, during 1903, with more than a year's "average," if one may so speak, of real and threatened "vandalism."

What did our brilliant Governor-General of India say in the March number of the *National Review?*

Lord Curzon wrote: "*I regard the stately or beautiful or historic fabrics of a bygone age as a priceless heirloom, to be tenderly and almost religiously guarded by succeeding generations.*"

And what he said of that country he would say of this. But evidently those interested in, or who have the charge of old Bristol properties, do not hold the same view.

Let me at once clearly state, however, that I do *not*

OLD BRISTOL INN.

advocate the preservation of the old at *any* cost—thus thwarting a city's progress — but I am quite sure the historic associations of the past are not sufficiently guarded by many of our citizens possessing the requisite power.

To realise that the quaint inn, nearly 400 years old, known as the "*Three Kings*,"[1] in Thomas Street, the oldest hostelry left, is finally closed and absolutely doomed! that the "*Ould Friendship*," another old inn in Castle Green, city property—just beyond the site of the old "Cat and Wheel," which was destroyed three years ago[2]—was wholly demolished in September, and that no effort was made by those in authority to secure the many interesting relics connected with the structure, most of which have been sold away from the city! that the best, and one of the last of the really picturesque half-timber houses in *Mary-le-port Street*, is to be pulled down for a modern building to take its place! that the late Renaissance front known as *No. 12 Wine Street*, has been demolished for a new elevation by the present lessees of the site! and that the old "*Dutch House*," to which I have often referred, and which is so well-known to us all, is most vigorously threatened, makes one stop and wonder what will happen next.

As a type of one of the smaller inns of the seventeenth century, a short description of "*Ye Ould Friendship*," as it was seen by the writer just before its demolition, may be interesting.

It stood at the corner of Castle Green and Tower Street; had a double gable elevation, was substantially built, and was evidently erected towards the end of the said century. Its frontage to Castle Green was 33 ft. 6 ins. and to Tower Street 39 ft. 6 ins., being entered from the latter thoroughfare.

The *ground floor* consisted of (*a*) a room on the north-east side, measuring 14 ft. 6 ins. by 12 ft. 9 ins. and 8 ft. high, lighted by a recessed window on the north 5 ft. 6 ins. wide and 3 ft. deep, the sides slightly splayed; the chimney-piece, with

[1] I am indebted to the artist (Mr. S. J. Loxton) for the loan of this block.

[2] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 271.

moulded oak jambs, stood on the east side, and a small window pierced the wall on the north side of this, just at the turn of the wall. A plain ceiling was crossed by a substantial oak beam, bearing a triple moulding on each edge. There were two doorways—one an exit and the other leading to the adjoining room, (*b*) which also faced Castle Green, and was of identical dimensions and similar to the first; but this apartment was panelled, though of a later date than the house; the original chimney-piece had disappeared. (*c*) Small room in the rear; and cellarage.

An oak *staircase* of thirteen treads, with square corner uprights and ball ornaments, fitted with turned rails, led to the *first floor*, which contained three bedrooms of similar sizes to the ground floor rooms; these had square bay windows, and a well-moulded eighteenth-century chimney-piece stood in the room over (*a*).

There were two rooms on the second floor and two attics over. Interesting Jacobian carved brackets supported the gables.

The four early eighteenth-century houses adjoining the old inn on the south side, in Tower Street, were pulled down at the same time.

PRESERVATION.

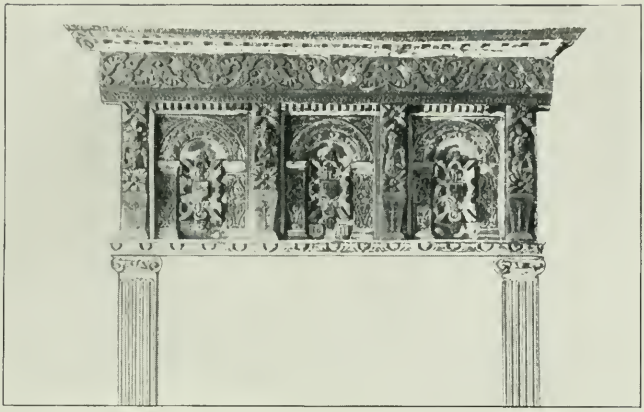
During the year *No. 3 Welsh Back* was demolished for the erection of new offices, &c., and a characteristic example of early Jacobian woodwork[1] which had been previously discovered, choked up with paint and plaster, had to be removed. It was probably the chimney-piece in the same house before a former reconstruction.

The dimensions are 9 feet 5 inches high and 5 feet 9 inches across, the carved panels being 2 feet in depth.

The initials and date in the centre panel are $\frac{\text{I. P.}}{1611.}$

The demands of the Post Office having compelled considerable extension, H.M. Office of Works acquired by

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Charles Bartlett, the owner of the property, for the particulars, and to his son for permission to use the illustration.



JACOBIAN WOODWORK.
DATED 1611.
Removed from old house, Welsh Back, Bristol.

STONE CHIMNEY-PIECE
DATED 1700.
Removed from "Elton" Mansion, Small Street, Bristol.

purchase during the year the old houses[1] in *Small Street*, adjoining on the west side, for this purpose.

These properties included what has always been known as the *Elton Mansion*, occupied for many years by the Bristol Water Works Company. In one of the rooms on the first floor of No. 7, used as the board-room, stood a finely-carved stone *chimney-piece* bearing the initials and date—

I E. 7
O A.M. O

the letters representing the names of Abraham and Mary Elton.

This fine example was taken down on June 30th, and has been refixed in the board-room of the company's new building in Telephone Avenue.

My thanks are once more due to Mr. Moline, and in this instance for kindly preparing the negatives of the bronze implements.

[1] See paper on "Small Street Houses," *Western Daily Press* and *Bristol Times and Mirror*, February 17th, 1904.

[2] From a negative by Mr. Frank Richardson, and illustrated by permission.

THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

By the Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.,
Vicar, 1877—1896.

Owing to the greater interest shown in archæology in recent years, and to the increased study of all antiquarian subjects, it was decided in the autumn of 1903 to ascertain the views of members in the Bristol centre as to the desirability of holding evening meetings, this idea having been included in the original constitution of the Society.

In a letter issued to the members living in Bristol and district on October 8th of that year the following questions were asked:—

a. If this scheme will receive your support by your attendance? The hour will probably be 8 or 8.30.

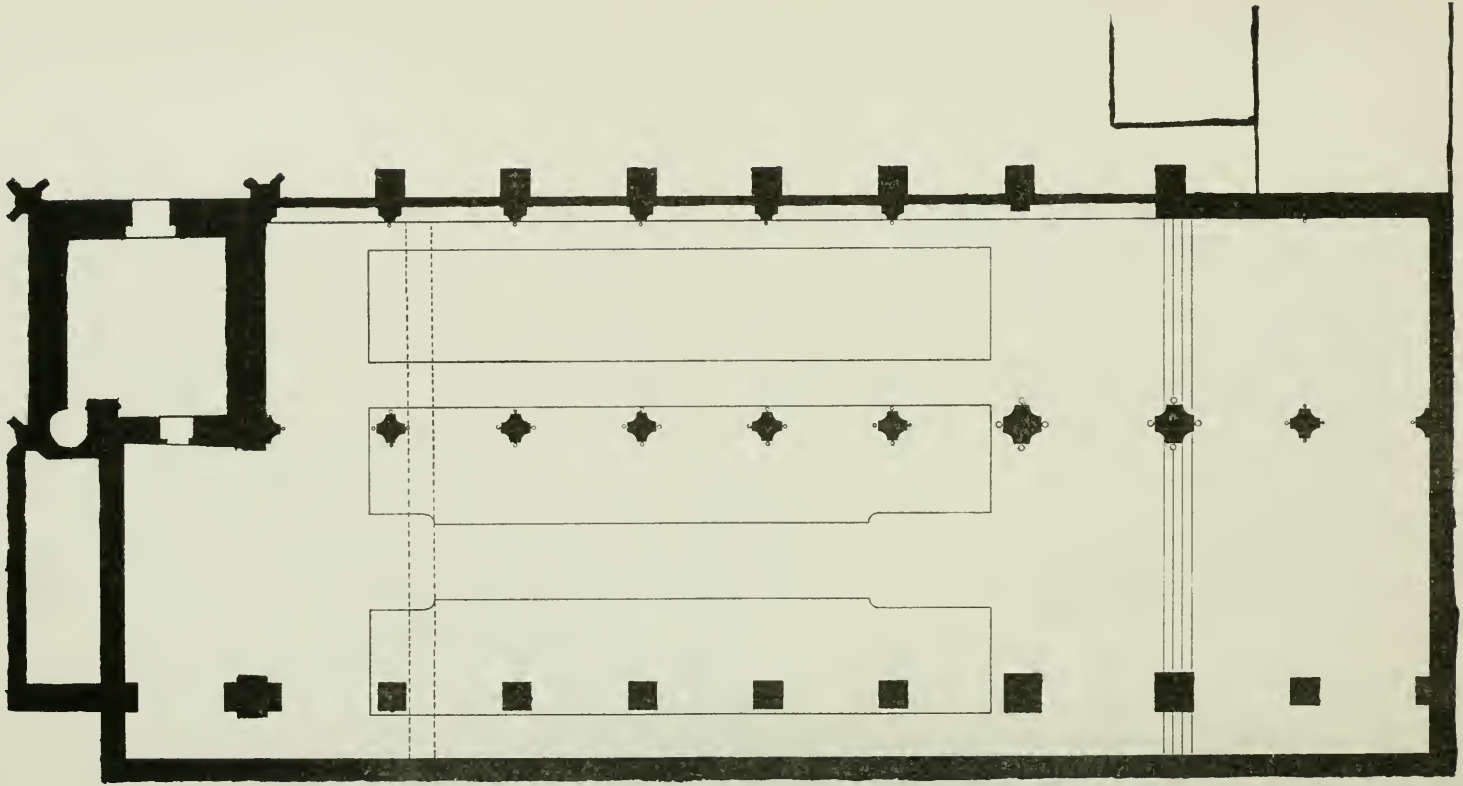
b. If you would be willing to contribute "notes" on any local archæological or historic subjects?

c. If you have any antiquities or coins of local interest that you could exhibit?

d. If you could show any unpublished drawings or sketches of buildings, or objects of antiquity, now destroyed; or any early prints or portraits?

The replies were highly satisfactory, the result being that four meetings were held in the session of 1903-4 and five in 1904-5.

Of the many interesting papers and notes contributed and discussed, some have already been printed in the *Transactions*. It is satisfactory, too, to know that the idea was taken up by the Gloucester members soon after it was



THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

started in Bristol, and it is hoped that similar meetings may be arranged at other centres. The following paper was one of those which were read in the winter of 1904.

The subject before us is the reconstruction in thought of a church which was destroyed 115 years ago, of which, so far as is known, there is no picture in existence, either of the church as a whole, or of any part of it, except the tower, which is still standing.

Barrett, whose preface is dated April 15th, 1789, that is to say, two months after the destruction of the old church had begun, says of it: "It is very apparent that it was built at different times. The present structure is lofty and spacious, after the Gothic order, with a lofty nave and long side aisles, and the tower at the west end with bells, without any spire strong and plain. It is in length from the west door to the high altar 46 yards, the porch 3 yards and 2 feet, and the breadth of the whole church 19 yards and 1 foot." "The church is often mentioned in old deeds as early as the year 1200. It is next to Redcliff, the largest as well as most elegant building, though only a chapel, like it, to another (Bedminster) church." "Near the middle is a cupola raised, or glazed lanthorn, also an organ which cost £360 is at the west end."

For comparison of size we will take Barrett's measurements of Temple Church, which he says is 156 feet long, 50 feet high, and 59 feet wide, as against the 149 feet in length and 58 feet in width of old St. Thomas, giving St. Thomas 7 feet less in length and 1 foot less in width. The height of the old church is not mentioned, but as we shall see presently, it can have been little, if at all, less than that of the nave of Temple. But old St. Thomas must have been a far finer church internally, for instead of the low, narrow chancel running for nearly half the length of the building as at Temple, it was of the same height throughout. The existing church is 32 feet shorter than the old one, as shown by the dotted lines in the plan; for not only is the

width of the tower thrown out at the west end, but also there is a lobby 18 feet wide within the structure.

It will be noted that Barrett says that it is very apparent that the old church was built at different times. All that is now standing is the tower and the spring of the groined arches of the north aisle, these are of late fifteenth-century date; there is nothing to show the character of the pillars and arches between the nave and south aisle. There is, however, built into the tower a piece of late Norman chevron moulding, which might well have formed part of the earliest church, for there is little doubt that the church was founded in the last quarter of the twelfth century. St. Thomas of Canterbury was martyred on December 29th, 1170, and the universal horror caused by the manner of his death, as well as the fact that as Chancellor he had issued the earliest charter of Bristol, would account for the dedication. The chapel on London Bridge, and the parish church at Portsmouth, built about the same time, bore the same dedication.

The plan of the old church was the same as that of St. Mary Redcliff without the transepts, a continuous nave and chancel of equal height, with aisles extending to the east end of the chancel, where they formed two side chapels. This is clear from an entry that monies were paid in 1613 for casing the chancel and the two side chapels; also in 1722 three iron gates were set up at the three entrances of the chancel.

The only peculiarity in the external appearance of the church was the cupola or glazed lanthorn mentioned by Barrett. This was not, as we might have gathered from his wording, a post-Reformation addition, but was evidently part of the original design. It appears in the accounts as early as 1620, when the three great windows in the lantern were new glazed with 374 feet of glass at 4d. a foot. In later times it frequently asserts its existence by charges for its repairs. It is well shown in the representation of the church in Millerd's plan of Bristol. It is difficult to account for the *three* windows unless the chancel roof was really lower than

that of the nave, but Millerd's sketch shows them of equal height, and the existing altar-piece set up in 1716, which is some four feet lower than its original height, would require a chancel quite as high as the present one. There had been a similar lantern at St. Mary Redcliff at the intersection of nave and transepts, for William Wyrcestre says "the principal column, *i.e.* any one of the four columns which carry the small tower and stand at the western entrance of the chancel of Radclyff Church, contains 103 mouldings." Canon Norris found the ragged top of this old tower under the lead roof; no doubt it was removed when the roof was groined. There is the rudiment of a similar lantern before the chancel of St. John's Church in Broad Street.

With regard to the reconstruction of the internal arrangements of the old church, we are much helped by the fact that the organ gallery, erected in 1728, and altar-piece, set up in 1716, which stood in the old church, are still in existence, and the pews which were placed there in 1755 remained in the present church till 1878, when they were converted into the existing seats; furthermore, as the present church was built on the old foundations, except where ground was thrown out at the west end, we know the width of the old church.

The north aisle was 21 feet wide to the middle of the pillars, as is shown by the arch of the groining on the east face of the tower. The organ gallery is 24 feet wide, and as it stood in the nave this part of the church cannot have had a less width than that. But if we take the total of some 52 feet for nave, pillars, and north aisle out of 58 feet, the width of the church, we have only 6 feet clear for the south aisle—little more than a mere passage. Narrow aisles of the kind certainly existed, the north aisle of St. Peter's, Bristol, and the modern aisles of All Saints', Clifton, are instances of the kind; but the question naturally arises whether the south aisle was not originally wider, and that it had been narrowed at some time—as the north aisle of St. Peter's may have been narrowed—for the purpose of widening St. Thomas' Lane. The discovery of some tiles in the lane a few years

ago, which seemed to be ecclesiastical, may give some support to this idea. Still, we must remember that the old church was as wide as St. Mary Redcliff and Temple, and any considerable extension to the south would have made it an unusually broad church. It is, however, of course possible that the southern line of pillars and arches may have belonged to an earlier church than that which was destroyed in 1789, and that when the tower and north aisle were built a part of the south aisle was thrown into the street and the north aisle was carried so much further to the north. A strong objection to this idea, however, lies in the fact that on marshy soil old foundations would always be used as far as possible.

We may get at the distribution of space on the floor of the old church in another way. In 1877 the seating was provided in a series of noble oak pews fully six feet high with mahogany capping, which were converted into the existing seats. These pews consisted of two blocks of pews each about 64 feet long and 12 feet wide, which stood in the nave, and two blocks of the same length, and six feet wide, which stood in the aisles. The pews which stood in the nave of the existing church would have fitted well into the nave of the old church, while the pews which were in the aisles of the existing church would, if joined together side by side, have fitted well into the north aisle, leaving the narrow south aisle as a passage for the nave seats. It certainly seems likely that the old pews were transferred bodily into the new church, except that the block of pews in the old north aisle was cut in two and placed in the two aisles of the new church.

We can only guess at the arrangements of the chancel; the altar-piece is 19 feet across, so that the effective width of the chancel cannot have occupied less space than that; but there is nothing to show whether the chancel was divided by walls or only by pillars and screens from the side chapels.

We now proceed to consider the arrangements of the pillars, arches, and roofs, so far as we are able to trace them.

And in this matter we are helped by an entry which tells that in 1621 twenty-two pillars were painted at the cost of 8d. a pillar. This gives the total number of pillars in the church. I should arrange them thus:—Eight pillars and two responds between the nave and north aisle, and so presumably two responds and ten pillars on the south side of the nave. But very likely the pillar opposite to the corner of the tower took the form of a pier, which, having two responds, would be counted as two pillars, and then the number of pillars on each side of the nave would be equal.

We know from the respond still existing on the east of the tower that the pillars between the nave and north aisle were of the common local form of a lozenge with the angles hollowed out and a shaft between the hollows. The north aisle possessed a very noble groined roof far finer than any aisle roof in the city except that of the Cathedral, the height of the midrib of the groining being 30 feet above the floor of the church. Some of the bosses are preserved at the church, and show what magnificent work was destroyed in 1789.

The height of the tops of the capitals from which the arches sprung was about 20 feet, and of the top of the arches about 30 feet above the floor, while the wall-plate was not less than 35 feet above it. There was no clerestory. There is nothing to show the pitch of the nave roof, and therefore its height; and as there are no signs of groining on the respond of the tower it is evident that the nave roof was of timber. Supposing the angle of the nave roof to have been 50°, this would give for the height of the apex above the floor about 48 feet, and probably an internal height of not less than 42 feet. As Barrett gives the height of the nave of Temple Church as 50 feet, it is clear that there was not much difference between the two churches in this respect.

We can, therefore, now form an idea of the interior of old St. Thomas. Its length, 138 feet from the west door to the high altar, is precisely that of the nave of St. Mary Redcliff from the west door to the chancel arch, including the width of the transept, and it was of the same width with

St. Mary's; but as it had no clerestory it was some 12 feet less in height, in this respect rather resembling the nave of Temple. Probably the church which would give the best idea of the nave of old St. Thomas is St. Stephen's, but the old church was half as long again as St. Stephen's.

Consisting as it did of a nave and a north aisle nearly as broad and as high as the nave, the old church ought perhaps to be regarded as consisting of two parallel naves, like the Priory Church at Leominster, which some of us saw in the summer, with its three parallel naves; but it would certainly seem that no parish church in the city possessed an interior with anything like such an effect of breadth and space as old St. Thomas.

With regard to the lighting of the church, we find that the jamb of the west window of the old north aisle comes close to the buttress of the tower, so that the church would have been lighted on the north side by a series of seven (or eight) large windows divided only by the width of the buttresses, like the range of windows on the south side of Temple Church; and as the arches on the north side of the nave were as high as the aisle arches of most cathedrals, a flood of light would have come in from that side. There is nothing to show what the windows on the south side were like.

It is doubtful whether the lantern at the entrance to the chancel was erected simply for the purpose of giving light; more probably it was set up mainly for decorative purposes in order to break the long line of roof. Certainly the external appearance of St. Mary Redcliff would be much improved if the old lantern had been allowed to remain at the crossing of the nave and transept. Still, as it is certain that rooms—probably in the first place for chantry priests—stood over the northern chapel of the chancel, as they stand over parts of All Saints now, the chancel may have needed light, which the lantern would serve to supply.

We now proceed to consider the circumstances under which this very noble church was destroyed. It is certain that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the old

Perpendicular churches of Bristol stood in need of extensive repair, but the moving cause of the destruction of old St. Thomas was most likely the fact that at that time the vestry had a considerable sum of money (probably about £1,500) burning in their pockets.

At any rate, on September 5th, 1788, Mr. Allen, the architect, and others were desired to report on the condition of the church; and on February 15th, 1789, they reported that a new roof was needed and also extensive repairs to the walls. This was very probably true; but on May 20th it was further ordered that all the arches and walls should be taken down to the foundations and the pillars left standing. The second report states that the walls were ruinous. The tradition of the parish, however, relates that it was found needful to blow up these ruinous walls with gunpowder.

On June 18th, 1789, Mr. Allen's plans for rebuilding the church were approved by a majority of the vestry; an Act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose; the new church was opened on December 1st, 1793, involving a cost which was not fully met till 1825. It is clear that the destruction of the old church was not approved by all those in authority. Mr. Spry, the vicar, absented himself—perhaps unwisely—from the earlier vestry meetings when the matter was considered, and, as we have seen, the plans for the new church were only carried by a majority of the vestry. It is to be noted that as the old tower remained standing, and the body of the church was built on the old foundations, there was no re-consecration; the church was simply re-opened, and the ancient dedication in the name of St. Thomas the Martyr continued.

There is, however, this much to be said, that no unworthy successor rose on the foundations of the old church; and if the church of St. Thomas the Martyr is no longer the most beautiful Gothic church in the city except St. Mary Redcliff, it has in a way stepped from the second place into the first, for it is certainly the finest classic parish church not only in Bristol, but for a very long distance round. There was also

much of historical interest in connection with the old church. The Lady Chapel—by which is most likely meant the east end of the north aisle—became the burial-place of the Canynges family. John Canynges, the first member of the family who is found in Bristol, witnessed a deed of sale of a corner shop in Redcliff Street on October 28th, 1334; the deed is in the possession of the Vestry of St. Thomas. On June 6th, 1382, the will of John Stoke was proved, by which he desired to be buried in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in the parish church of St. Thomas; and by her will, proved September 20th, 1395, Joan Stoke, his wife, desired to be buried in the same place. The elder William Canynges married Agnes, daughter of John Stoke, and by his will, proved November 10th, 1396, he desired to be buried in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, by the tomb of John Stoke. His son, John Canynges, who died in 1405, desired to be buried on the east side of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in the church of St. Thomas the Martyr. John Canynges left two sons who reached adult age, Thomas and William. The latter, who was afterwards five times mayor of the borough and Dean of Westbury, was buried in St. Mary Redcliff, being the first member of the family, so far as is known, who was buried there. Thomas Canynges, lord mayor of London in 1456,[1] was the ancestor of the families of Canynges of Foxcote, in Warwickshire, and Canynges of Garvagh, in Londonderry, from which latter branch George Canning (Prime Minister), Earl Canning (Governor-General of India during the Mutiny), and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe were descended. When, in 1852, Sir Stratford Canning was raised to the peerage with the title Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe the ashes of at least four generations of his ancestors had been buried in the church of St. Thomas de Radeclive, as the ancient church was styled in the Assize Roll of Gloucester, 1247-8.

The old church bore its part in the troubles of the

[1] In which year his brother William was also Mayor of Bristol.

Reformation period. There is an amusing account of the difficulties which arose out of the preaching of Latimer and his opponent Hubberdyn, whom Foxe describes as "a right painted Pharisee," in the early part of 1533.[1] Latimer preached at St. Thomas on Monday following the second Sunday in Lent (March 10th), uttering, as was reported, "divers schismatic and erroneous opinions, as in hell to be no fire sensible, the souls that be in purgatory to have no need of our prayers, but rather to pray for us; no saints to be honoured; no pilgrimages to be used; our blessed lady to be a sinner," insomuch that many of the king's subjects within the said town were sore infected with the same, and there was great strife and debate, and that among all sorts of people from the highest to the lowest. And this continued from the second Sunday in Lent until Easter (April 13th), when Hubberdyn came to Bristol and preached in St. Thomas' Church at afternoon on Easter Eve, and at St. Nicholas' Church before noon on Easter Day, sharply against Latimer's articles, proving them by authorities as well by the Old as the New Testaments schismatic and erroneous. And whereas it was very ill from the second Sunday in Lent till Easter, it was worse after Easter; for many that favoured Latimer and his new manner of preaching, and other many that favoured Hubberdyn in his old manner of preaching, were more ardent after Easter than they were before.

The register of baptisms contains the following entry:—

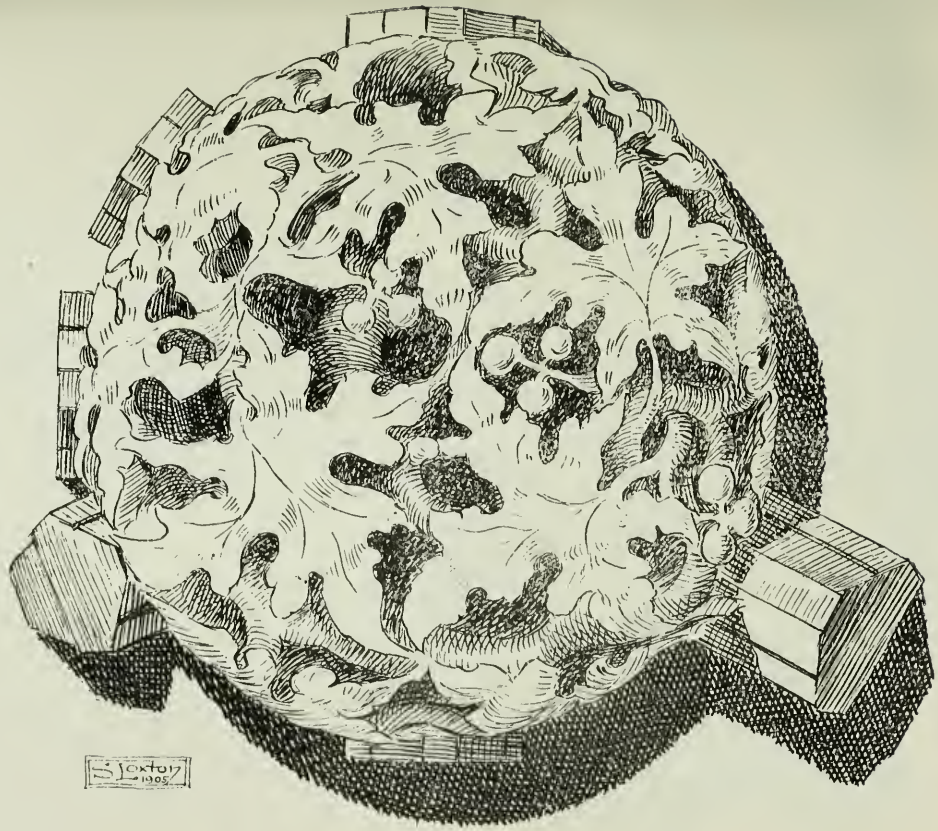
"1621. Ap. 23 willm pen sonn of gilles penn."

This was Sir William Penn, admiral in the wars against the Dutch, who died in 1670, and was buried near his mother at St. Mary Redcliff, where his armour is still to be seen. He was the father of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. The Chatterton family were connected with the church as early as 1667, when Thomas Chatterton did a good deal of mason's and carpenter's work there. In 1739 the bells were rung when Bishop Butler visited the church.

[1] MS. Cotton, *Cleopat.* E. iv., fol. 56, Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, Camden Society, pp. 8 and 9.

The only part of the ancient church now standing is the tower, which is a good specimen of late Perpendicular work. It was built for a spire, as the squinch arches show. If the spire had been completed with its sides making the same angle with the horizon as the sides of that of St. Mary Redcliff, its height would have been about one hundred feet above the leads of the tower; as the tower leans it was probably thought unsafe to add a spire, but it would seem that the design was not altogether abandoned, for the putlog holes remained until recently. On April 29th, 1790, it was reported that "the tower is well built and fit to stand, the materials being sound, and the walls perpendicular. Except that the parapet and about six feet of the wall under the same, and the south and west sides thereof require some repair." The tower stood apparently as it was in 1790 till 1896, when it was repaired, and parapets and pinnacles were added, at a cost of £1,800. It should be stated that though the ground-plan shows the tower as it now is—disconnected from the church,—before 1789 it was connected by a broad arch with the north aisle, and by a narrower arch on its south side with the old nave.

The four great bosses, of which representations are given, must have formed part of the groined roof of the north aisle. They were recovered to the church in a very remarkable way. In 1843, when Tovey published his *Churches of Bristol*, they were in the possession of Mr. Thomas Garrard, treasurer of the city, who permitted the author to publish plates of the two which contain the dragons and the human figure. On the death in 1880 of the father of the clergyman, who was then vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, a marked sale catalogue of Mr. Garrard's effects was found among his papers, from which it appeared that the St. Thomas bosses had been bought by Mr. Kerslake. In reply to inquiries, Mr. Kerslake said that he did not recollect the purchase of the bosses, but that he had certainly bought some articles for Mr. Braikenridge. Mr. W. E. George, a member of the vestry, communicated with the Rev. G. W. Braikenridge,

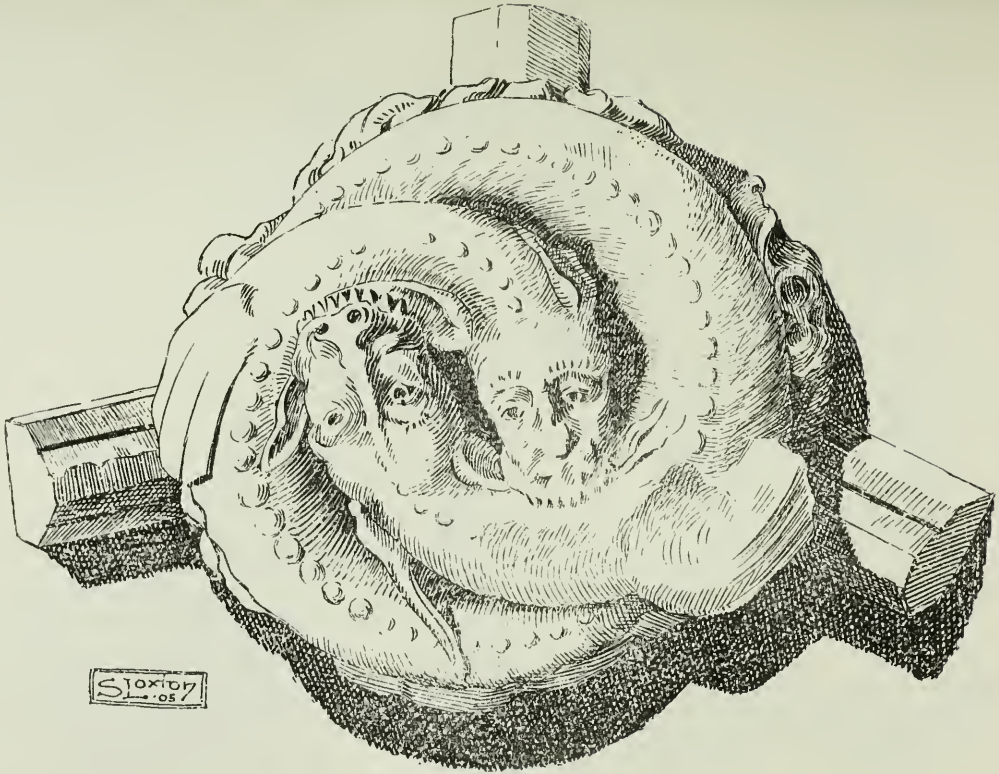


ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

DIAMETER: 17 INCHES.

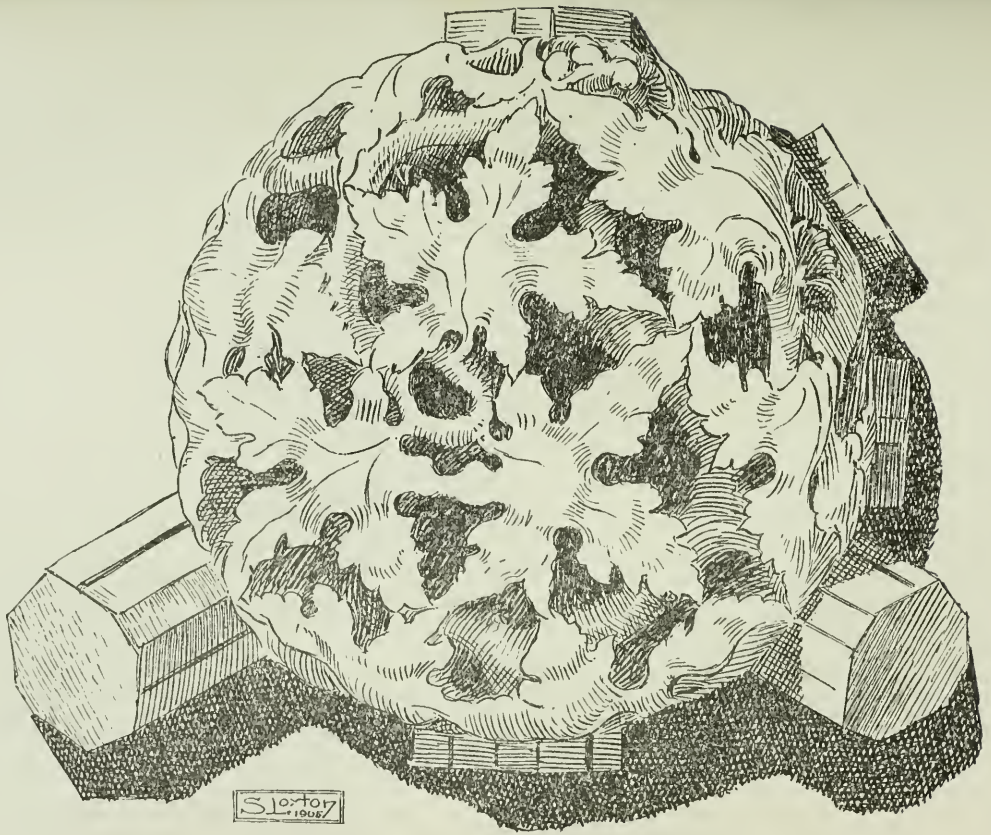
ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

DIAMETER: 18 INCHES.



ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

DIAMETER: 19 INCHES.

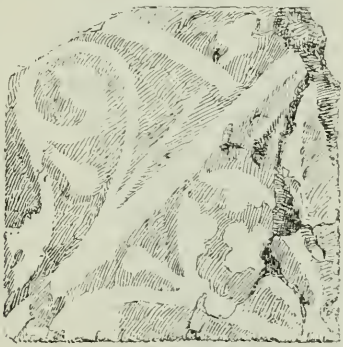


ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

DIAMETER: 20 INCHES.

who most kindly restored the bosses to the church after an absence of more than ninety years. And this paper may well close with words written now more than sixty years ago by Mr. Tovey concerning these sculptured stones[1]: "It must be matter of surprise and of regret that these should be the only remaining vestiges of a building of which some shadowy ideas may yet faintly linger in the remembrance of the aged—that not a solitary antiquary was found in the hour of its destruction, sufficiently appreciating, and interested in its many beauties, to transmit some semblance of its general form and character, for the admiration and gratification of those enthusiasts, who by possessing the pictured delineation, would be in some measure consoled for the absence of the object itself."

[1] *Churches of Bristol*, pp. 230, 231.



TILE FOUND IN ST. THOMAS LANE.

THE BRISTOL HOTWELLS.

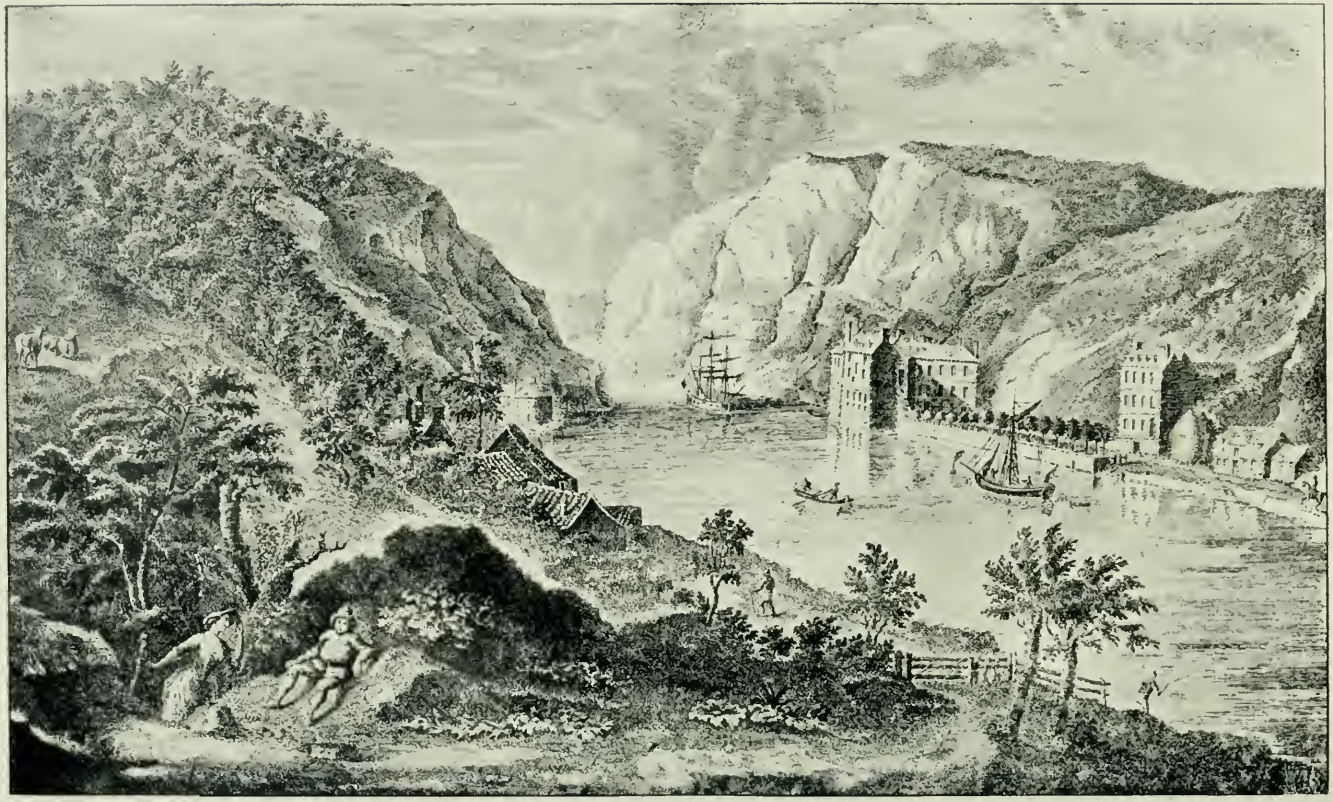
By L. M. GRIFFITHS, M.R.C.S.

MEMBERS of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society will be interested in these two early views of the Bristol Hotwells. They are reprinted from Mr. L. M. Griffith's *Reputation of the Hotwells (Bristol) as a Health Resort*, which was reviewed in the last volume of our *Transactions*. The courtesy of the authorities of the Bristol Museum and Library, which enabled Mr. Griffiths to issue them, has been extended to us, and we thank them for the permission to reproduce them.

The first represents, about the year 1735, the pump-room erected in 1696 and the buildings of the immediate neighbourhood. Barrett in his list[1] does not mention this view, although he refers to one of the Drawbridge by Halfpenny and Mynde, and one of the Infirmary by Halfpenny. Neither in designer nor in engraver was this illustration fortunate. William Halfpenny was a London "architect and carpenter,"[2] indications of whose profession and work can be seen in the formal outlines of the drawing. J. Mynde was an engraver of small reputation, whose work was principally done for the booksellers.[3] Beginning in 1722, William Halfpenny published several books on building and architecture. For some of these he had the help of John Halfpenny, who "is said to have built 1744 Coopers' Hall, and 1789–94 S. Paul's Church, Portland Square, both at Bristol."[4] The dates make this statement somewhat improbable; and in reference to the church, Evans says that "the architect and builder was Daniel Hague."[5]

[1] *History of Bristol* [1789], p. 112. [2] See *Dictionary of National Biography*.
[3] See Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*.
[4] *Dictionary of Architecture*.
[5] *A Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, 1824.

A View of ye Hot Well with St. Vincents Rocks & ye River
near ye City of BRISTOL A. The hotwell house
A
W. Halfpenny delin.
J. Maynde fec.



The NORTH-EAST PROSPECT *of the* HOT-WELL *near* BRISTOL

In striking contrast to the almost diagrammatic drawing of William Halfpenny is the picturesque view dated 1747. It was most likely drawn by Milton, who was no doubt the William Milton mentioned by Redgrave.[1] Barrett[2] refers to a view of the Infirmary drawn and engraved by Milton. The row of houses to which the name of the Colonnade was given was not then in existence. Samuel Pye, the bearer of the cost of the original engraving, was a Bristol surgeon at whom Chatterton girded "in an unpublished and unpublishable poem now in the library of the Bristol Royal Infirmary."[3] In 1724 Pye published a work on a surgical operation. The use of the hay-mow is explained by the following remarks of Owen:[4] "I would by all means advise those gentlemen who ride on horseback to the Hot-well, as many do, to put up their horses in the stable over-against the beginning of the walk, for which they pay only a penny a time for each horse, and not to tie them up to the rails while they drink the waters. This last is a very common practice; you see a whole range of them together, and the consequence is that almost every morning one or other of them is obliged, by the backing of coaches or chariots against them, either to break his bridle or to pull down part of the rails. By this penny-saving scheme of the owner, the horse is greatly frightened and often receives an injury, while his master is sitting in the Pump-room, or is got to the coffee-house adjoining to it to read the news papers, and knows nothing of the matter. Many a good horse has been hurt by this practice, and the company, who are in the walk, are frequently alarmed by it." The building near the hay-mow appears more distinctly as a stable in the first of the illustrations.

[1] *Dictionary of Artists.* [2] *loc. cit.*

[3] Greig Smith's *Abdominal Surgery*, 2nd ed., 1888, p. 631

[4] *Observations on the Earths, Rocks, Stones, and Minerals for some miles about Bristol*, 1754, pp. 161–2.

Notices of Publications.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM STUBBS, BISHOP OF OXFORD, 1825–1901. Edited by William Holden Hutton, B.D. London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1904.

This book tells in a very interesting way the story of the growth and developement of the powers of the greatest of the English historians of the last century. His historical training began when he was quite a boy, for his father, who was a solicitor at Knaresborough, set him to read charters and old documents, and in this way he not only acquired a taste for things that were old, and learned something of the difference between classical and mediæval Latin, but also, no doubt, laid the foundation of his skill as a palæographer in later days. He was educated at Knaresborough and the Minster School at Ripon, and so it was that when his mother was left a widow when he was seventeen years of age, Dr. Longley, then Bishop of Ripon, obtained for him a Servitorship at Christ Church, and thus laid the foundation of his future. He went into residence in January, 1845, he was placed in the First Class in the Classical School in Easter Term, 1848, and was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity two days later; on Trinity Sunday, 1850, he was ordained priest, and the next day he was presented to the living of Navestock in Essex. So the work of his life began, and no one could have foreseen the end from the beginning. Navestock was no light charge: it extended over 4,300 acres, and contained a population of about 980 souls, and there the future Regius Professor and Bishop lived the life of a country priest with his double daily service, though the church was a mile from the vicarage, and his hundred sermons a year, his mornings of study, and his afternoons of visiting; with promotion at the end of ten years' service to a Diocesan Inspectorship of Schools. It was a strange beginning to the life-work of the founder of the modern school of English History, but it is doubtful whether either he or Mr. Freeman would have been the better for a prolonged residence at Oxford; there was nothing to be learned there which could not be learned equally well elsewhere, and the effervescent liberalism which was dominant there in the fifties would not have been helpful to sound history. The outcome of the Navestock period was *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, a list of English Bishops from St. Augustine to 1858, with the dates of consecration and

the names of their consecrators where these could be ascertained. It was a work of very wide research, involving enormous toil, and though it did little to make him widely known, the experience and knowledge which he acquired in its compilation must have been very helpful in later years. In 1862 his old patron, Dr Longley, was translated from York to Canterbury, and appointed him Librarian at Lambeth; this appointment brought him to London twice a week and gave him access to the library. In the same year he was a candidate for the Chichele Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, to which Dr. Montagu Burrows was elected—the successful candidate had passed through the Law and History School, and had greater local claims; and in 1866 he was a candidate for the office of Principal Librarian at the British Museum. In 1863 he had begun his admirable work as an editor of the publications of the Rolls Series

In August, 1866, Lord Derby appointed him to the Regius Professorship of Modern History; he would have preferred the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, which was vacant later in the year, but this was not to be, and as Dr. Bright was appointed after no long interval to that Professorship, things were better as they were. At Oxford as a teacher he was without honour in his own country, his classes were always small, and he found the lectures a hindrance to other work. His greatest work was done rather by the books that he wrote than by the lectures which he gave. The chief of these were, besides his contributions to the Rolls Series which ran from 1864 to 1889:—*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1869 78; *Select Charters*, 1870; *Constitutional History of England*, 1873-78; together with the long series of articles in the Dictionaries of *Christian Antiquities*, 1876-80, and *Christian Biography*, 1877-87. So far as history was concerned, the period of the Oxford Professorship was the most productive period of his life, and it is difficult to think of the writer of the *Constitutional History* as an ecclesiastic; but though he resigned Navestock when he came to Oxford, he accepted the living of Cholderton in 1875, resigning it on his appointment to a Canonry of St. Paul's in 1879, which he held till he became Bishop of Chester. In 1876 also he was elected an Honorary Fellow of Balliol, and undertook the duties of Chaplain of the College; in 1878 he seems to have contemplated accepting the living of St. Mary's, but Dr. Jowett strongly dissuaded him from this in words which he must often have remembered afterwards:—"When a person is very distinguished in one line he had better not take another which is liable to distract him from it. It is misery to lead a divided life. For many reasons I should like to see you Vicar of St. Mary's, but it seems to me to be impossible that in such a position you should carry on your historical work with equal energy and success." Thus it came to pass when he was consecrated to the See of Chester in 1884 that of the 34 years of his priesthood no fewer than 25 were marked by direct pastoral or capitular work.

It is likely that the most lasting result of the work of Dr. Stubbs will flow from what he did as a member of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1881. The Erastianism of the English Secular Courts had produced a deadlock with regard to questions of ritual in the Church of England, exactly as it has recently produced a deadlock with regard to doctrine in Scotland, and a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the constitution and working of the English Ecclesiastical Courts from the time of Henry VIII. onwards. The recommendations of the Commission have long been forgotten, but the masterly Appendices drawn up by Dr. Stubbs as one of the Commissioners abide, and will have to be reckoned with in any future consideration of the subject.

It was no doubt in consequence of his work on this Commission that he was nominated to the See of Chester in February, 1884, and consecrated in York Minster on April 25th in that year. His life at Chester was a happy one. The diocese, though populous, was not large, and was easily accessible; he had never lost touch with the life of the parochial clergy; and his house at Chester was not too large for his requirements But five years later the great misfortune of his life occurred. Archbishop Benson had determined to try a charge which had been brought against the Bishop of Lincoln, and desired the assistance of Bishop Stubbs, who was therefore translated to the See of Oxford. To Bishop Stubbs the change was little less than a disaster. He doubted the competency of the Archbishop to try the case in the manner adopted at all, and the long sittings of the Court were mere weariness to him. The diocese included three counties, not very accessible from any point, and hopelessly inaccessible from Cuddesdon, a small place on a branch line of railway. His house was a country mansion, requiring a large staff of servants, which he disliked from the first, and tried to get rid of, that he might live in Oxford. He was thoroughly uncomfortable, and though he was to the end completely in earnest on the spiritual side of his work, as in addresses to candidates for Holy Orders and for Confirmation, in the general work of the diocese he was not happy. An Anglican Episcopate tends to become a machine, and though the bishop supplies the motive power, he does not always guide Bishop Stubbs had seen the system at work at Navestock and at St. Paul's, and evidently he did not like it; he was too strong a man to run in grooves marked out for him, he declined to be organised, and many in the diocese became unsympathetic; a tendency to jocoseness which he had repressed returned upon him, and stories grew up of strange jokes at inappropriate times. By a misfortune for which he was in no way responsible, the twelve last years of his episcopate, which under happier circumstances might have nobly crowned his life's work, were clouded. The question arises whether it was well that so great a scholar should enter the ranks of the Anglican Episcopate at all. Certainly the science of history was

a heavy loser. At Chester he carried on his edition of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, and that was all He had prepared more than an outline of the history of England in relation to the Church during the Tudor period, but this was put aside when he became a bishop; yet it would have been invaluab'e to students of the Reformation period, to whom so much that was done seems to be merely illegality veiled under the form of law. There had been ideas of publishing an abridgment of the *Constitutional History*, but these came to nothing. On the other hand, considering the rarity of real learning among the clergy of the English Church on any other subjects than ancient languages and theology, it was certainly well for the Church that so great a scholar, well skilled as he was in pastoral work and thoroughly interested in it, should be placed in a position of the highest authority. As it was, even, the gain far outweighed the loss; under happier circumstances none would have doubted that when he accepted the call to Chester he chose the better part, not only for himself, but in the interests of true religion and useful learning as well. Mr. Hutton has done his work thoroughly well, and has given a very trustworthy and readable account of the life and work of a great scholar, to whom students of history for a long time to come will owe a deep debt of gratitude.

THE GROWTH OF THE MANOR By Dr P. VINOGRADOFF. London: SWAN, SONNENSCHEIN & Co. 1905.

DR. VINOGRADOFF published his well-known book on *Villainage in England* twelve years ago, and though he has since held a Professorship of History in the University of Moscow, he has not lost his interest in English subjects; he is now fitly installed as Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, and this book is the first-fruits of his Professorship. It is an attempt to present an outline of the growth of the manor as a social institution, passing through all the stages of English history; for as we are told in the preface in a passage which well illustrates the method of the volume:—"All periods of English history have had their bearing on the life of the manor. Some germs of manorial institutions may be found in the Celtic age; the Roman occupation of the island had undoubtedly a powerful influence on its economic arrangements; the old English period is marked by the full development of the rural township; the feudal epoch finds the manor at its height; the dissolution of the manor forms one of the processes by which modern commercial intercourse was brought about, and survivals of the manorial system and of its component elements may still be observed all over England." But though these conditions followed one after another, it is not implied that they arose from each other by a process of natural growth. No doubt from the time

of the Saxon invasions till to-day the growth has been continuous till it passed into decay; but the Celtic and Roman periods, though they may have contributed some elements which became parts of the manorial system, did so not so much by way of preparation, as by indirect influence on the system into which they were absorbed. The book starts from a consideration of Celtic tribal arrangements, not because the Celts were the earliest inhabitants, but because very little is known about the social arrangements of the peoples who preceded them. The ruling principle according to which Celtic society was arranged was the union of persons descended, or supposed to be descended, from the same ancestor through males, though other lines of connection were recognised at various times. The homestead was not simply the dwelling-place of the household with a few dependants, but was intended for the joint occupation of a number of tribesmen living together, though the homes of families were grouped in hamlets. As the Celts were a pastoral people, and cultivation of the soil was a subordinate matter, the system of land tenure was communalistic, though the individual had well-defined rights within the community. Other sources of food were hunting, fishing, and the keeping of bees. There were degrees of wealth and rank within the community, there were freemen, foreigners, and slaves, but their relations one with another were essentially different from those which existed between the dwellers in an old English *tûn*; the germs of the later manor are not to be found in the Celtic family community.

And it does not seem that the Roman occupation of Southern Britain altered the Celtic tribal institutions in essential points. Any influence which the Roman land system may have had on the subsequent developement of the English manorial system arose rather from its influence on the Angles and Saxons before they reached these shores, than on any change which was impressed on the social arrangements of Roman Britain. The occupation was that of a comparatively small military class. There were the roads and fortresses and the villas of wealthy residents, but the social arrangements of the subject population remained unchanged. Mr. Vinogradoff suggests that the frequency of Roman settlements in Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire may be accounted for by these districts forming, as it were, feeding centres for the support of the military concentrations on the west and north. Of course, however, the civilisation and military prowess of Rome had its influence on the British population; and so it is that Henry of Huntingdon, describing a battle between the Britons and Saxons at Woodnesbeorge in 591, relates that the Britons, using the military formation of the Romans, were victorious. That the Romanised Britains were no weaklings is shown by the fact that it was not till fifty-seven years after the West Saxons had landed in Southampton Water that they captured Old Sarum, twenty-five miles from the shore.

The invasions of the Anglo-Saxons and afterwards of the Northmen were an entirely different matter from the Roman invasion. The latter was the invasion of an army, resulting in the setting of a small privileged foreign class above a conquered nation; the former was the invasion of a nation, resulting in the expulsion or servitude of the native race. The Roman was a dweller in towns; the Anglo-Saxons detested towns, and settled whithersoever they would, by wood or plain or stream, dividing the land afresh and calling the lands after their own names; and further, the unit of society was no longer the family as with the Celts, but the individual who settled in his own *tún*, with his dependents around him, and the slaves who were in his power, as the Boer farmer lives separate and apart at the present day, and claims the power to rule his own negroes. There was a complete change, both with regard to the form of society and the system of land tenure. Yet the Celts were not exterminated; though village names are mostly Anglo-Saxon, the names of streams and hills and remote hamlets testify to the survival of the subject race.

But this disconnected system is not the system which is found in the later laws and history. By the pressure of military necessity, a definite military class arose from among the body of freemen, of necessity a class formed from the more wealthy, for these alone could provide efficient arms and remain for a longer period in the field. Again, especially no doubt in troublous times, either by commendation of the weaker to the stronger, or by a system of patronage, or by direct grant, it is likely that every Englishman had come by the end of the tenth century under the jurisdiction of some lord. There was not only an orderly system of classes, for this is found in the laws of the Kentish King Ethelbert, to whom St. Augustine came, but also an orderly system of dependence of man on man; the officials of the township became the officials of the lordship, and thus all the townships of the kingdom were linked together in a single organic whole.

Then with the Norman Conquest came the feudal system, basing the social system on the tenure of land alone; land being conceived to be held of the king, reverting to him on the death or crime of the holder, and not as in the Old English polity as freehold, the absolute property of the owner. Here again was an essential change, going down to the very root of society and of the system of land-tenure. But the organisation of the township fitted well into that of the feudal manor, and its life went on very much outwardly as before. Only through the feudal system the process of centralisation was completed, and at last the old holdings were rendered indivisible. The feudal system lost at length its power of growth, it ceased to be really a living, developing thing, and in time it practically died away; but the life of the townships which it absorbed continued, and exists even until now.

But a summary of this kind gives a very poor idea of the real value of the book, which enters fully into the social arrangements and methods of land tenure and cultivation used by the population at the different periods which are covered by the work. There is not very much of specially local interest. Dr. Vinogradoff mentions, though he does not enter into, the account of the district between the Wye and Usk which follows the account of the City of Gloucester in Domesday.[1] This account is, however, of very great interest, because it shows the process in action of the settlement of lands which were held on the Celtic system by a Teutonic race according to their land system. The district seems to have been settled by Earl William Fitzosbern about 1070, and the Welsh land system remained unaltered on the king's land. Under the provost Waswic were 13 villæ; under Elmui, 14; under Bleius, 13; under Idhel, 14; and also under these provosts were four villæ which were desolate. It is easy to recognise in these four groups the groups of homesteads which according to the Welsh system were ranged together for the purposes of tribute and civil jurisdiction. The food rent also, according to Welsh custom, was paid in cattle and money, with 28s. for the hawks; it was worth in all £9 10s. 4d., or about 3s. 6d. from each villa. The land, however, which had been granted to subjects was divided out as usual into carucates or hides, and it is described by the terms usual in the Gloucestershire Survey, the Commissioners describing as occurring in the lifetime of persons still living a condition of things which had come to pass all over England some five centuries before. Many people do not realise to what a late period servitude persisted as a part of the manorial system. On October 18th, 1533, John Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells, manumitted at Banwell the family of Goodriche *nativus* of Banwell, "ab omni jugo servitutis villenagii," and the manumission was confirmed by the Chapters of Bath and Wells in 1535.[2] While even as late as April 3rd, 1574, Queen Elizabeth issued a commission to enfranchise the bond men and women of the Queen's manors in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester.[3] It is remarkable that in Domesday there was a higher proportion of serfs in Gloucestershire than in any other county, Cornwall and Devon following next in order, while of the others only Hants, Dorset, and Shropshire stood higher than Somerset. The book is likely to have a very high value as a work of reference for a long while to come, and it is a pity that the index is not more full.

[1] D. B., f. 162. [2] Wells Cathedral MSS. 223. [3] Rymer's *Fœdera*.

STUDIES ON ANGLO-SAXON INSTITUTIONS. By H. MUNRO CHADWICK, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Cambridge: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS. 1905.

THIS is a book full of encouragement, because it marks an honest attempt to study old English history in the only way in which it can be effectively studied, by a careful collection of the facts on which the history must be based. It would be quite true to say that those who know that history best, know best how comparatively little is really known, how many needful questions cannot be answered, and how many of the conclusions which are commonly accepted depend upon premises which it would be difficult to justify fully. Mr. Chadwick takes a series of subjects and considers them one by one in the light of the laws and charters and available history of the old English commonwealth. His work is a collection of facts rather than of conclusions; the reader is left to do most of the work of construction or re-construction for himself; it is not a history, but rather materials for history; and this is well, for it is clear that a good deal yet remains to be done before a satisfactory history of the old English polity can be written. Mr. Chadwick regards matters from the point of view of the police court, and commences his work with the following magisterial announcement: "The classification of Teutonic society in ancient times may perhaps be most conveniently attempted by observing the gradations in the monetary payments to which persons belonging to different classes were entitled in compensation for various injuries." From this starting-point he proceeds to the consideration of the monetary system, the social system involving the gradation of classes, the administrative system, the territorial divisions, and finally the constitution and functions of the national Council; so that each part of the old English commonwealth is passed under review in turn

The chapters on the monetary system are, of course, technical, but some interesting details are given concerning the ratio of gold to silver at different dates. The fifth-century gold coins found in the tomb of Childeric at Tournai give a ratio of about 8 to 1; the gold coins of Merovingian type found at Crondale in Hampshire, in 1828, give for West Saxon coinage a ratio of 6 to 1, and apparently for Kentish coinage only 4 to 1; while a ratio of 6 to 1 prevailed for a considerable time over Northern Europe. Reckoning by the price of an ox, the ratio in the time of Ine was about 7 to 1; but in later times silver was relatively much less valuable: in the time of King Alfred, about 10 to 1; of Athelstan, 11 to 1; and at the beginning of the eleventh century, 12 to 1. With regard to the social system as illustrated by wergelds and other payments, the differences between Northumbrians, Mercians, and West Saxons do not seem to be very striking; Kent, however, stands by itself to a larger extent than the greater

antiquity of its extant laws would seem to account for, and it is evident that caution is necessary in interpreting Kentish matters from Mercian or West Saxon sources or *vice versâ*. The social system of the old English was, however, clearly a more complex matter than it is often represented to be. The Gloucestershire Domesday throws some light on the status of the Radchenistres, who are assumed on page 88 to be equivalent to the Radcniht, who is identified with the sixhynde man in the late Pseudo-Leges Canuti. The nature of their service is twice described in detail, as if the commissioners recognised that they were dealing with an uncommon designation, and some explanation was needful. With regard to the estates of Westminster, it is said that some properties were held by Radchenistri, "that is to say freemen in King Edward's time, who yet all used to plow and harrow, mow and reap at the lord's need"; and again, with regard to Tewkesbury: "These Radchenists used to plough and harrow on the lord's land."[1] In the whole shire 57 Radchenists held 93 teams, they were thus a class of freemen rendering certain services, and holding on an average rather less than two teams apiece; also 197 villeins held 129 teams, giving less than two-thirds of a team to each. The five oxen of the villein compared with the thirteen oxen of the Radchenist give a proportion not far removed from the threefold fine due to the sixhynde man as compared with that due to the ceorl, but an assumption of identity would be very precarious. It is very much to be regretted that Mr. Chadwick has assumed the identity of the offices of the earlier *ealdorman* and the later *eorl*. It is true that both were territorial magnates, but it would have been far better to consider the office of each separately, and to point out the marks of similarity. It is still more to be regretted that this confusion leads him to deal unfairly with his authorities. On page 166, for example, we are told that the compensation due to the earl for the infraction of his surety was two pounds, and for fighting in an assembly in the presence of the earl was 120 shillings, with references to Alfred's Laws, 3, 38. On referring to the laws, however, it is found that in each case the dignitary is styled *ealdorman* and not *earl*. Very likely the assumption of the identity of the offices may be fairly correct, but it is not fair to alter an original authority in accordance with the assumption. The whole section concerning the earl and the earldoms needs to be read with great caution, for in some cases, at any rate, it seems likely that confusion is created between the earl who was over a group of shires, and the ealdorman over a single shire. For instance, on page 169 it is said that "in his civil capacity the earl had, according to Edg. iii. 5, to attend (doubtless as president) the county assembly." On looking up the passage, it runs thus: "Let men attend the hundred-moot as it has been ordered, let the burg-moot be held thrice, and the shire-moot twice in the

[1] D. B., f. 166, 163.

year, and let the shire bishop and the ealdorman attend and give instruction concerning God's law and secular law." As it is, the section simply shows that a considerable number of men bearing various titles exercised somewhat similar functions at different times.

The section on the administrative system is founded on the lists of *Burghal Hidage*, and *County Hidage*, on which Dr. Maitland laid so much stress. Mr. Chadwick leaves the item, "To Heorepeburan, 324 hides" unidentified;[1] but there can be little doubt that the name intended is Crowborough in Pevensey Rape, which thus finds a place in the system. The list of *Burghal Hidage* seems to be designed simply for military purposes, and it would not be necessary that it should be strictly regulated by the shire boundaries. In Somerset it follows the natural features of the country: Watchet for Exmoor; Lyng at the junction of the Parrett and the Tone, supported by Langport at the head of the great central marsh; Axbridge guarding the marshland to the south of it; while to Bath—still Mercian—was attached the district north of Mendip, together with a large area of South-west Mercia. Bath, and possibly Langport, were places of importance; but in this list they appear—like Lyng and Watchet—only as fortresses; and it is likely that Mr. Chadwick is using the list for a purpose not its own when he regards it as possessing direct value as indicating centres of civil jurisdiction. He seems also to think that the hundred was at one time an unit including one hundred hides; the testimony of the Gloucestershire Domesday, however, is clean contrary to any such idea; no such numerical relation can be traced in the hidage included in the various hundreds; the principle is manifestly inapplicable to such hundreds as those of Brentry, Clive, and Deerhurst, which contained estates of great churches; and, finally, there is the little Hundred of Letberge, containing only two estates, rated together at six hides, and held both in the time of the Confessor and the Conqueror by two different owners. When in the section on the "Divisions of Mercia" it is said that "most of the midland counties first made their appearance during the tenth century," it is needful to remark that no name of any midland shire is found in any contemporary document before the year 1000. Of course, it is true that in the *Burghal Hidage* Oxford and Worcester appear as the heads of military districts containing as many hides as the shires attached to them in later days contained, and such places as Gloucester, Hereford, and Northampton also appeared in early times as heads of military districts; but a military district is one thing, and an administrative district for civil business is another. Very probably the former developed into the latter, but we find no mention of the Mercian shires under their present names till they occur in the chronicles in the early part of the eleventh century. The chapter on "Hereditary

[1] Page 205.

Earldoms" also loses much of its value on account of the loose way in which the term *earl* is used as the equivalent of various English and Latin titles. There is a chapter on "The Kingdom of the Hwicce," which does not carry us very far; but the chapter on "Bede's Terminology" and that on the functions of the Council, especially in relation to the election of kings, are full of suggestion. The book is a really valuable one to students of old English history, not only on account of the information it contains and the lines of thought which it suggests, but also because it compels the verification of references, and therefore the increase, if not of the extent of knowledge, at any rate of its accuracy; for the looseness with regard to the rendering of titles of dignity and office to which reference has been already made, and the fact that documents are referred to generally without any hint as to their value, will enforce that constant reference to original authorities which affords the only guarantee of trustworthy work. The index is fairly good.

NEOLITHIC DEW-PONDS AND CATTLE-WAYS. By A. J. and G. HUBBARD. London: LONGMANS, GREEN & Co. 1905.

THE water-supply of the great enclosures which crown so many of the hills in various parts of the country has always been a difficulty to those who have thought about the meaning and purpose of these mighty earth works, and solutions of the difficulty have been of more than one kind. It will not do simply to say that these enclosures were only temporary refuges from passing raids, for they would hold a multitude of men and cattle for whom the water-supply even of a single day would be a matter of great difficulty. General Pitt-Rivers drew attention to the probability —which is indeed practically a certainty—that when the country was more heavily wooded than it is now the water-level in the soil would have stood higher than it does, the streams would have welled out higher up the coombes, and the possibility of obtaining water by means of wells even in hill-top camps would have been increased. Professor Buckman spoke of a Roman well as existing even in Leckhampton Camp. It is quite possible that evidence concerning the former elevation of the outburst of the springs might be obtained from the land-boundaries given in the charters. For instance, it seems clear that the *Winterwell* mentioned in the boundaries of North Cerney in the Charter of 852[1] is now known as Rendcombe Springs, but this point is, judging from the map, fully two hundred yards from the parochial boundary. Still, of course, work of this kind could only be usefully done in the field by those who know the district. But whether or no water could be obtained by means of wells from the

[1] K., *C. D.*, cc'xviii.; *C. S.*, 466.

springs which run among the hills, it would seem clear that there must have been some provision for the storage of water in such camps as Norbury, extending over 80 acres, and Nottingham and Cooper's Hills, extending over 120 and 200 acres respectively. The book therefore is of interest to all who live in a district like Cotswold, where enclosures on high ground are found; for though all the instances considered by the writers are found on the waterless chalk, the conditions are not entirely dissimilar from those of Cotswold.

The method of water-supply chiefly considered is that of dew-ponds, a dew-pond being a pond which is supplied simply by condensation of dew, the principle employed being that on a non-conducting surface a greater amount of moisture will be condensed during the night than will be evaporated during the day. A hollow is dug in a position where there is no possibility of the existence of springs or of running water; the surface of the hollow is then covered with dry straw or some other non-conducting substance, over which puddled clay is laid, and the clay bottom is thickly strewn with stones. The pond will gradually fill with water, and will continue its supply so long as the non-conducting substance retains its property; if it should become wet either by leakage or springs the pond will fail. It seems that there is still at least one wandering gang of dew-pond makers in England.

The writers are clear that some of these dew-ponds are of neolithic date, for they are found within the ancient enclosures, and are thoroughly fortified by ditches and ramparts precisely similar to, though smaller than, the main earthworks. Moreover, some of the earthworks which are subsidiary to the main camps are constructed in such a way as to provide communication to and fro between the camps and neighbouring dew-ponds; and, finally, the remains of a dwelling similar to the dwellings within the ring is not infrequently found near a dew-pond—this was probably a guard-house. The writers found only one dew-pond actually within a ring, and they account for this by the fact that in so crowded a space the trampling of feet would soon have caused leakage and have made the pond useless. This internal pond is at Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, probably because there a supply of running water can be obtained outside the ring; though even here dew-ponds are found outside, away from springs.

With regard to the paths used by cattle on their way to the watering, the writers distinguish between artificial roads such as are found near the camps, which they call "cattle-ways," and the paths formed naturally by the cattle themselves, which they call "cattle-tracks." At Chanctonbury and Cissbury, in Sussex, and at Maiden Castle, in Dorset, well-defined and properly-fortified cattle-ways are found leading to the dew-ponds connected with those camps; while the district which seems to the writers

to illustrate the nature of cattle-tracks is that part of Salisbury Plain which lies near Stonehenge. At one point near Ogbury Camp they think that a dew-pond was dug right across the cattle-track, in order to prevent the cattle from going down into the valley of the Avon to drink, and thus incurring danger from beasts of prey. If this was so, however, it seems likely that the plan was a failure. As the writers never go off the chalk, the conditions of their work are not quite the same with those which are found on Cotswold. It is little likely, for instance, that the tracks naturally followed by cattle on their way to their watering-places could often be followed for any great distances in the latter district, which has been so fully under cultivation for so long a time; but it is still quite possible that if dew-ponds were formed in connection with the Cotswold camps their position, and also the nature of the works formed to defend them, could still be made out. A cyclist on Cotswold would find the investigation of these matters a most interesting pursuit for leisure days during the summer, the outcome of which might prove to be a really valuable paper for our *Transactions;* for it might be the means of putting on record the existence of a class of antiquities which beyond almost any others are liable to destruction. It should be added that this book, of some seventy pages, is illustrated by twenty-five well-executed pictures, which are most helpful in making the meaning of the writers clear.

THE UPPER NORWOOD ATHENÆUM. 1904.

THIS is the record of a year's doings of the Society whose name it bears, a Society which leads a happy existence of gatherings in London during the winter and of excursions in the summer. The four winter meetings were held in connection with Apsley House, the Public Record Office, St. John's, Clerkenwell, and the Halls of the Girdlers and Parish Clerks Companies: a sufficiently varied list. It is satisfactory to learn that a proper tribute was paid to the birthplace of Domesday Survey by the fact that the great record stood open at the page marked "Glowecestrescire." It is less satisfactory to find a statement by the gentleman who read the paper on the occasion that he did not know that Bristol ever possessed a castle. However, he was out for a holiday, and we must hope that he had only forgotten for a moment the greatest keep in England except that of the Tower of London. The ten summer excursions ranged from Winchester to Audley End, and from Aylesford to Kingston-on-Thames. They seem to have been found to be both profitable and enjoyable. The Society consists of seventy-six members, and it is worth noticing that the fourteen papers were the work of thirteen members, and no fewer than

five of the excursions were led by members who had not acted as leaders before. Evident pains are taken to divide the work of the Society, and, of course, with the work the interest in it: in this way it is that sccieties grow in numbers, value, and influence, The editor, Mr. T. Pitt, is to be congratulated on the form of his work; the pictures especially are well chosen and well executed, that of Kit's Coty House deserving particular notice. As he has been a member of our Society for more than twenty years, and has only recently undertaken his editorship, we must wish him all prosperity.

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July, 1905.

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Literary Societies exchanging Transactions with this Society:

The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries (Ireland), Dublin.

The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

The British Archæological Association, 32 Sackville Street, London, W.

The Birmingham and Midland Institute, Archæological Section, Birmingham.

The Cambrian Archæological Society, 28 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.

The Clifton Antiquarian Club, Hon. Sec., A. E. Hudd, Esq., F.S.A., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.

The Royal Institute of Cornwall, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.

The Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, Hon. Sec., L. Richardson, Esq., F.G.S., 10 Oxford Parade, Cheltenham.

The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Hon. Sec., Percy N. Currey, Esq., 3 Market Place, Derby.

The Essex Archæological Society, The Lawn, Coggeshall, Essex.

The Kent Archæological Society, Museum, Maidstone, Kent.

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, The Castle, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The Powys Land Club, Museum and Library, Welshpool.

The William Salt Archæological Society, Stafford, Hon. Sec., Major-Gen. The Hon. G. Wrottesley.

The Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, The Castle, Taunton.

The Shropshire Archæological and Nat. Hist. Society, Hon. Sec., F. Goyne, Esq., Dogpole, Shrewsbury.

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The Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford.

The Sussex Archæological Society, Lewes, Sussex.

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The Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.A.

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Those who are desirous of joining the Society, can be admitted, after election by the Council, on the following conditions:

I. As Life Members for a Composition of £5, and an Admission Fee of 10s. 6d., which will entitle them to receive gratuitously for life, the annual volumes of Transactions of the Society that may be issued after the date of payment.

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The Annual Subscription becomes due on the 1st of January, and the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Currie, will be obliged if members will send their subscriptions to him at 26 Lansdown Place, Cheltenham.

By order of the Council, the Transactions of the Society are only issued to those members who have paid their subscriptions for the corresponding year.

Application for admission as members to be made to one of the Hon. *Local* Secretaries, or to the

REV. CANON WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.,

Matson Rectory,

Gloucester,

Hon. *General* Secretary.

CONGRESS

OF

Archæological Societies,

JULY 6TH, 1904.

The Fifteenth Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries was held on Wednesday, July 6th, at Burlington House ; Lord Avebury, President S.A., having telegraphed regrets at unavoidable absence, the Chair was taken by Lord Balcarres, F.S.A.

The Congress was attended by Delegates from the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archæological Institute (2), the British and Cambrian Archæological Associations, the Huguenot (2), and British Record Societies and the Societies for Berkshire, Bristol and Gloucester, Bucks, Cambridge (2), Cambridgeshire and Hunts, Chester and N. Wales, Cumberland and Westmoreland, Essex (2), Hampshire, East Herts, Lancashire and Cheshire, Leicestershire, Shropshire (2), Suffolk (2), Surrey (2), Sussex (2), Thoroton Notts, Wiltshire (2), Woolhope Hereford (2), Worcester, Yorkshire East Riding (2), and Members of various Committees.

The Minutes of the last Congress, held on July 8th, 1903, were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Standing Committee was read and approved, and the Statement of Accounts, audited by Mr. W. Minet, F.S.A., was read and adopted. The thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr. Minet for his services, and he was appointed Auditor for the ensuing year.

The following were elected as the Standing Committee :—

The Officers of the Society of Antiquaries.	I. Chalkley Gould.
J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.	Emanuel Green, F.S.A.
E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.	W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.
Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A.	Wm. Minet, F.S.A.
Sir John Evans, K.C.B., F.S.A.	Canon Rupert Morris, D.D., F.S.A.
G. E. Fox, M.A., F.S.A.	George Payne, F.S.A.
G. L. Gomme, F.S.A.	J. Horace Round, M.A.
	J. B. Willis-Bund, M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., was re-elected Hon. Secretary, and the thanks of the Meeting expressed to him for his services in the past year.

EARTHWORKS COMMITTEE.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, presented a Report stating that the Committee had been enlarged by the inclusion of Lord Balcarres as Chairman, Sir John Evans, Mr. Haverfield and Lieut.-Cols. Attree and Ruck of the Royal Engineers. Many offers of help had been received and more might be expected when the copies of the Scheme, now being circulated by the various Societies, have been finally distributed.

The Cardiff Naturalists' Society had undertaken a survey of the hill forts and Earthworks of Glamorgan. Reference was made to the purchase by the Brighton Corporation of the camp at Hollingbury and the gift by the Duke of Norfolk to Sheffield of the fortified hill called Wincobank. Maiden Bower in Bedfordshire and Wellington on the Ouse were, however, in danger of destruction. The Committee also presented a paper of hints which they thought would be a useful appendix to their Scheme.

Mr. Haverfield pointed out that the work of making records could not be regarded as at all complete unless it was accompanied by an accurate survey giving plans and contours. Some excavation at least should be done in order to settle the date; he expressed the opinion that the English Ordnance Maps, although not perfect, were quite as good as those of other countries. He also stated that a survey was being made in North Germany giving accurate plans and particulars of the camps there that were supposed to be the work of the Saxons. This would be of great value to English workers for purposes of comparison.

Prof. Windle also spoke of the need of accurate surveys, and asked that care should be taken that excavations should not be made at haphazard. He suggested that a list of authorities that could be consulted should be issued in any future papers, and that a leaflet should be drawn up suitable for sending to owners of property.

The Rev. T. Auden, Mr. Michell Whitley and others, gave useful information about work that was being done, and emphasized the lack of funds.

Lord Balcarres pointed out that the Earthworks Committee had no funds and could not help in this way, but that the Society of Antiquaries might assist, at any rate by giving advice. He also stated that there was urgent necessity for preliminary lists and surveys which might be supplemented as time and money allowed. Mr. Willis-Bund, Chairman of the Worcestershire County Council, pointed out that if lists were at once prepared and sent to the County Councils, it was probable that help might be obtained for the preservation of Earthworks from immediate danger. Mr. Ralph Nevill suggested that it would be most helpful if some copies of typical plans published of the North German camps could be included in any future publication of the Earthworks Committee.

Mr. C. H. Read, the Hon. Sec. of the Society of Antiquaries, spoke of the need for cataloguing tumuli and similar sepulchral remains and pointed out that these supplied almost the only material for the earlier history of our islands. He referred to his paper on the subject read at the Belfast Meeting of the British Association and mentioned records made for the War Office on Salisbury Plain and the great work of General Pitt Rivers. There was no doubt that the work was pressing and should be undertaken at once. After some discussion it was agreed that the Earthworks Committee should be asked to take up this subject in addition to their present work on defensive earthworks. Mr. Gould expressed his willingness to do so as Hon. Secretary, provided Mr. Read gave his assistance.

The Hon. Secretary reported that the Committee for promoting the Safe Custody of Local Records had been waiting for the Government to present the Bill which, it was understood, had been prepared. On the proposition of Mr. Freer, seconded by Mr. W. P. Phillimore, it was agreed that Government be asked to do this, so that steps might be taken to make its provisions known and obtain the support that all archæologists were likely to give it. Mr. Willis-Bund stated that the need was pressing as he knew of an ecclesiastical body of importance which had just destroyed a quantity of their old Records. Mr. Green stated that the Somersetshire County Council had made a grant for the preservation and cataloguing of their Records, and that the work was progressing.

Mr. J. H. Round read a paper on "Place Names," carrying further the suggestions made by him some years ago in the paper published by the Congress.

He pointed out the great importance attaching to Mr. W. H. Stevenson's forthcoming "Index to Names," and the value of such sources as genuine Saxon Charters, Feet of Fines, the Calendar of Ancient Deeds just issued by the Record Office and old Estate maps prepared locally. On the other hand such sources as the "Testa de Nevill," Dugdale and the Ordnance Survey must be treated with suspicion. He indicated that the Committee appointed by the Congress would ask the help of local societies to enlist workers to examine thoroughly certain specified authorities and certain portions of country and advocated an effort to correct the recent adoption of wrong forms, of which he gave an amusing instance—the Manhall of Domesday now appearing on the Ordnance Map as Emanuel Wood. Attention should be drawn to the frequent confusion between the terminations "den" and "don," "barrow" and "borough," and between the various meanings of that difficult word "wick."

On the motion of the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield it was agreed that Mr. Round's paper should be printed and circulated to all Societies in Union ; Mr. Haverfield suggested that Mr. Stevenson should be urged to print at once his list up to A.D. 1100, by which date the antiquary

had already begun his perversions. Mr. Nevill suggested that perversions began much earlier, in fact at the commencement of scholarship, the Ven. Bede being a very bad example of the practice of explaining Celtic or earlier names by Saxon meanings.

The Secretary explained that the delay in publishing Mr. Gomme's General Index and certain faults found with the Annual Index arose from the neglect of Messrs. Constable, and he was authorized to write to them and endeavour to secure the prompt publication of the General Index.

Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore gave an account of the recently-formed Canterbury and York Society which had already obtained sufficient support to justify it in proceeding vigorously with the publication of the Bishops' Registers of various Dioceses ; these would be given in extended form. Some discussion arose as to whether it would be possible to obtain the Registers of separate Dioceses at increased prices.

After lunch Mr. E. W. Brabrook, C.B., took the Chair ; Mr. Round mentioned that the Pipe Roll Society had been revived and would probably arrange to issue its productions in separate counties. Mr. Green stated that the Latin was to be extended.

Mr. E. S. Prior, with the help of a large number of lantern slides gave an account of his attempt to produce a system of classifying effigies. His idea was that effigies, of which England possessed some 2,000 examples, could be divided into the three main classes of Purbeck, Freestone and Alabaster, and that they were the production of local trade centres where these materials prevailed, the use and fashion of material being in the order indicated which corresponded roughly to the 13th to 14th, the 14th to 15th, and the 15th to 16th centuries. Mr. Hope gave some corroborative particulars as to the use of alabaster for tombs, deduced from contracts that had been found.

Votes of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of their room, and to the Chairmen, were carried by acclamation.

RALPH NEVILL, F.S.A.,
Hon. Secretary.

CASTLE HILL,
GUILDFORD.

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Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries. July 11th, 1900.

Notes on the Systematic Study

OF

OUR ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES.

By J. HORACE ROUND, M.A.

I HAD the honour, some years ago, of reading in this room before the Society of Antiquaries, a paper on the Settlement of the Saxons in Essex and Sussex, in which I dwelt on the great value of the study of Place-names for our early history, and urged "the practical impossibility of accomplishing any scientific work in this department of research until the place-names of England have been classified and traced to their origin."* I ventured then to express the hope that we might see "this urgent work undertaken, county by county, on much the same lines as those adopted by the Government in France. It seems to me," I added, "to be eminently a subject for discussion at the Annual Congress of Archæological Societies." Consequently, when Mr. Nevill suggested that the time had now come for the Congress to take up some fresh work, I brought forward this subject, and it received at once the Committee's approval. Since then the British Museum has rendered a great service to antiquaries by the publication of an index to the place-names contained in

* This paper has since been printed in my *Commune of London and Other Studies* (Archibald Constable and Co.).

its rolls and charters, for which it is claimed that one of its "chief points of interest and value lies in the evolution of modern place-names from the early forms found in the oldest documents." Here, then, we have the first step that has been taken in this country towards such an undertaking as I hope to see carried out.

There are two grounds on which the present time is peculiarly suitable for putting it in hand. The first is the great increase, of late, in the available material, owing to the publication of records by Government, by societies, and even by individuals; the other is the change that, in this generation, is passing over the face of the country. I am confirmed by the Deputy Keeper of the Records in the belief that the new edition of the Ordnance Survey omits ancient place-names that were still to be found in its predecessor. Railways alone have done much in shifting the balance of population, in reducing the importance of old villages, and causing new ones to spring up; and agricultural depression is affecting the map as surely as the conversion of arable into pasture in the agricultural revolution of the 16th Century; the great towns, again, are rapidly absorbing and effacing villages of which the names may be found even in Domesday Book. As an expert on this subject observed to me last week, antiquaries two generations hence may be seeking the origin of a district's name, which was really given by a speculative builder who called it after one of his daughters. Some changes in nomenclature are due to a subtler cause; the too ingenious antiquary has much, I fear, to answer for. In Worcestershire, Ab (or Hab) Lench kept the name it possessed in Domesday down to the other day, but has now become Abbot's Lench, having never, to my knowledge, had anything to do with an Abbot. In Northamptonshire, the "Holewelle" of Domesday remained undisturbed till, promoted to an ecclesiastical district, it became Holy Well. In Essex, our Society, last year, visited Stow Maries, which is known to have derived its name from the family of Marice or Morice, and discovered it beginning

to blossom out into Stowe St. Mary, the change, which began on the Church bills, having already reached the sign posts. As ecclesiastically-minded ladies would say, the new names are much "nicer," but they breathe the spirit, I venture to think, of Church restoration at its worst.

Now these examples have a real moral, a lesson that we need to bear in mind. The influence on our place-names of folk-etymology has been far greater, probably, than is supposed. If such changes as these I have glanced at are possible even at the present day, what could not be effected when all spelling was uncertain, and when maps were as yet unknown? for folk-etymology has been always with us, and the too ingenious antiquary is no modern phenomenon. Even Henry of Huntingdon could hardly mention a place without proceeding to explain the meaning of its name; and Robert of Gloucester explained that Colchester derived its name from King Coel. Colchester proved itself worthy of the tale, and showed not only his statue and his sword but even his "kitchen" and his "pump." It is now proposing to place his Arms on its new Town Hall, having, I observe, obtained them for the purpose from "Heralds' College, London."

It is on account of the influence of this folk-etymology that I dispute the claim of the philologist to explain place-names by his laws. His laws fail from the same cause as the laws of political economy; they ignore the human element. I have observed that if you tell a philologist what a place-name originally was, and what it is now, he will produce a law with a long name which accounts for the change to perfection, but if he is not supplied with that preliminary information, his laws are by no means a sure guide to the modern forms of an ancient name. Let me cite, from a single county, two instances as a test. The name of Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, suggests that there must have been some other Chaddesley in the county from which it had to be distinguished. And research will show that in the 12th Century there actually was such a place, which appears as "Chaddesleia." But this latter

place has now become "Chaceley," while the other remains "Chaddesley." So, again, the "Biselege" of Domesday has become "Bisley," in Gloucestershire, while in Worcestershire, some ten miles off, it has become "Bushley," a fact which, even now, proves confusing to students. It is obvious that no philological "law" can account for name-developments so different as these.

Cognate to the process of folk-etymology is that marked tendency of our people to introduce the syllable "ing" into place-names which did not contain it. In the Paper to which I have alluded I dwelt on the enormous importance attached by such scholars as Kemble, Stubbs, Green, and Canon Taylor, to the existence of *ing* in place-names as evidence of clan-settlement, and I pointed out that, even apart from other possible criticisms, the scientific study of our place-names would prove that in many cases the *ing* was a mere corruption. A curious instance came before me only the other day. The City of Hereford appears in Domesday as "Hereford port," but a Worcestershire Hereford, by the addition of "tun," becomes Herefordtun, and in Domesday "Herferthun," and finally by a process of corruption "Harvington." Nothing at first sight could be less likely than the true derivation of the name, and Kemble accepted its present form as proof that the place was the home of the Harvings, or as he termed them the Horfingas. By a no less strange corruption the "Widemondefort" of Domesday, the "Withermundeford" of charters, became our Essex Wormingford. The name, of course, was claimed by Kemble as evidence of its settlement by a Worming clan, but we have got beyond the clan now; we have discovered the totem, and we run him for all he's worth. The Wormings, therefore, are claimed as totemists, sons of the Worm, and as you must never eat your totem, we discover that this interesting clan cannot have lived on a diet of worms. You may think that I am jesting, but Mr. Grant Allen, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, included Wormingford among the place-names leading to "the almost

irresistible inference that at some earlier period the Anglo-Saxons had been totemists."*

I have tried to bring home to you, by actual instances, the strange theories, historical and other, to which students have been led by the change and corruption in place-names; and in the Paper to which I have referred I have shown how, largely through the influence of Kemble, their erroneous derivation has affected our views on our early history. In doing this, it has been my object to plead for their systematic treatment in the belief that such treatment will not only save us from much error but will enable students to arrive at conclusions of great importance. They can hardly be expected at present to work out for themselves the history of every name with which they are called upon to deal. So brilliant a scholar as Professor Maitland has observed, for instance, in his great work on *Domesday Book and Beyond*, that Amport, Hants, derives its suffix from having been at some early date a port or market town. Now it can be shown that this place was in Domesday simply Anne, and derived its suffix "port" from the Norman family of de Port, which then held it, and which was itself named from Port-en-Bessin. There are many other interesting cases of English names incorporating those of foreign families or individuals. If our place-names had received scientific treatment as in France, scholars would have ready to their hands the whole material in a trustworthy form instead of being driven, as now, to guesswork, or to virtually prohibitive toil.

The mere collection of local names on a scale as exhaustive as possible, will prove that some of the oldest are now among the least known. Manors of great antiquity have often vanished from the map, while the names of others may only be preserved by a farm, by a wood, or by a lane. The ancient names of our Hundreds, often now obsolete, call for special attention, representing as they sometimes do, the meeting place of primitive settlers. And, to turn to a later time, the coming

* *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, *p.* 81.

of alien lords is recalled by the names of the castles they erected at "Montacute" and at "Pleshy," at "Richmond" and at "Belvoir."

As to the method of the treatment to be adopted, I do not propose to deal with it in detail, but rather to elicit from this Congress an expression of opinion that the work ought to be taken in hand. Should it be pleased to refer the subject to a Special Committee, the whole matter could be carefully considered and a scheme of work drawn up for uniform adoption throughout the country. For that such work should be uniform, I need scarcely say, is essential.

I referred at the outset to the lines adopted by the Government in France as a guide to ourselves in the matter. French scholars are justly proud of the *Dictionnaire Topographique de la France comprenant les noms de lieu anciens et modernes.* This great undertaking is printed at the national expense, and describes itself as "published by order of the Minister of Public Instruction and under the direction of the Historical Works Commission." But the system is strictly a local one in practice, inasmuch as it is carried out department by department. Moreover, the assistance of a local society, if one exists, is secured, and the volume produced under its auspices by some qualified Scholar. In this series an introduction to the volume deals with the geography, geology, history, and ancient divisions, ecclesiastical and administrative divisions, and so forth of the department. But the body of the work consists of its place-names in alphabetical order. Hamlets, manors, fiefs, farms, streams, hills, and similar objects are included, but not mere field-names.* The essential feature, however, is that the date and the authority for each form of the name cited is given, as is done with all words in our New English Dictionary. Alphabetical lists are given, for reference, of all the sources of information employed,

* Genuinely ancient field-names are often of great interest, but the modern ones, of little or no value, now swamp them.

printed and manuscript, and formidable lists they are. A "table des formes anciennes," that is, the Latinised forms, for cross reference, completes the volume.

We should, I think, certainly retain the above essential feature in any scheme we may adopt, but should add, when well established, those peculiar local pronunciations which are now rapidly being lost. And I would make the further suggestion that certain selected sources of information* should be systematically read for the purpose by volunteer helpers, as has been done to supply the material for the New English Dictionary. Those who are willing so to assist should inform their local society, and might perhaps enlist others. We are so rich in mediæval records that we should not only illustrate the origin and history of existing names, but bring, I believe, to light many that are now forgotten. Lastly, I desire to make it clear that the scheme I suggest will not comprise philological speculation. It aims only at collecting the evidence in a trustworthy and scientific form, a process which, in many cases, will suffice to guide us to the origin of a name.

My own work has lain so largely among records of the 12th and 11th centuries that the need of the work I am advocating is continually brought home to me. The Deputy Keeper of the Records, to whom I spoke lately on the subject, told me that he thought the idea excellent, and I think we might fairly reckon on the approval of the Public Record Office, which is doing so much itself, by its noble series of Calendars, to illustrate our local history and identify our ancient place-names. In the striking words of Professor Maitland: "The map of England is the most wonderful of all palimpsests, could we but decipher it," and it is because I agree with him that much of our history that is still dark is written in the names that our remote forefathers gave to their English homes that I ask you, as a Congress, to express the

* Some printed works are not trustworthy for the purpose.

opinion that the scientific treatment of our place-names on a uniform system throughout the country is a task that ought to be taken in hand, and that is likely to prove of high value for the knowledge of our early history.

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CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

IN UNION WITH

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

Scheme for Recording

Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures.

APPENDIX II.

Since the scheme for recording ancient defensive earthworks and fortified enclosures was issued, it has been found desirable to develop the classification by the addition of

G. Enclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.

H. Ancient Village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses.

TUMULI, BARROWS, &c.

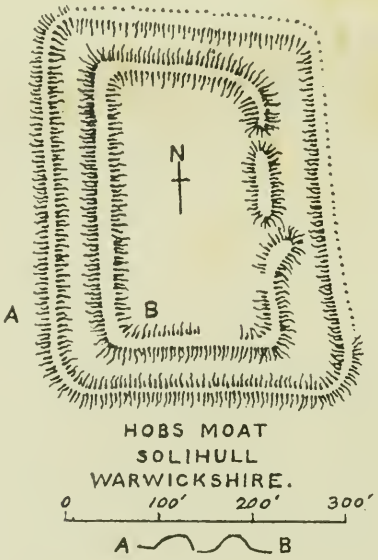
It was the intention, as expressed on page 2 of the scheme issued in 1903, to confine the labours of workers to purely defensive works, but those who have been working on the maps, or in the field, having found it easy at the same time to schedule *tumuli*, *barrows*, *and ancient boundary-banks and dykes*, it is suggested that a list of all such remains should be compiled, noting the parishes in which situated, and the position on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map.

CLASS G.

The works referred to under class G appear in many cases to be the sites of feudal strongholds, or manorial residences; at the same time it must be borne in mind that, as the late General Pitt-Rivers proved, simple, small, banked and ditched enclosures existed even in the far-away Bronze Age, and, it may be added, at various later periods.

Though generally simple in form, examples occur with outer courts, or divided enclosures, or with ramparting extending beyond the main sites.

Though usually small in comparison with early and similarly defended works, such as those of classes B or C, some of the works of class G cover an area of several acres.



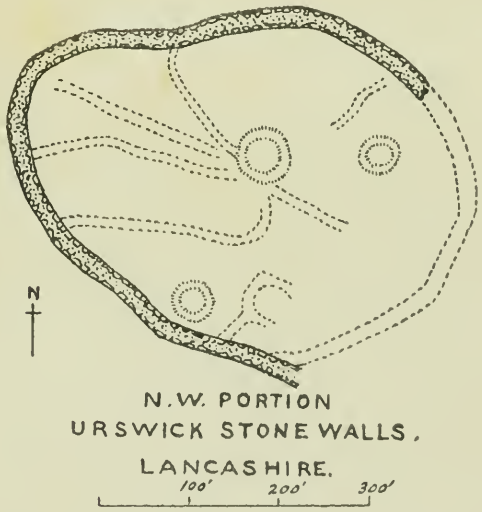
EXAMPLE OF CLASS G.

CLASS H.

In many cases the second or outer court of mount and court strongholds (class E) contained the germ of village or town, but the works referred to under H exhibit a more simple form of defence, and are not usually attached to any castle or stronghold.

Ancient walled areas, such as some on the moors of the north of England, on Dartmoor and elsewhere, may be included in class H, as the term "village" is used to imply any collection of huts or houses, and some examples may have been for the protection of cattle as well as of human beings.

In lowland districts works of class H occasionally occur, which protected the manorial hold, the church, and village, by means of moats or ramparts, or both.



EXAMPLE OF CLASS H.

The classification of defensive works as recommended by the Committee now stands as follows :

A. Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial works, usually known as promontory fortresses.

B. Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill ;*

Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.

C. Rectangular or other simple enclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.

D. Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.

E. Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.

F. Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.

G. Enclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.

H. Ancient Village sites protected by walls, ramparts or fosses.

X. Defensive works which fall under none of these headings.

Any further information will be given by the Honorary Secretary.

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